JANUARY 28, 2019

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by **TIM COOK**

FACEBOOK WILL GET IT RIGHT
by **DONALD GRAHAM**

HOW SOCIAL MEDIA ATTACKED ME
by **MARIA RESSA**

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TECH LEADERS ON WHAT KEEPS THEM UP AT NIGHT

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Photograph by Lynsey Addario for TIME

ON THE COVER: *Photo-illustration by C.J. Burton for TIME*

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Conversation

WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT ...

THE ART OF THE DUEL Molly Ball's Jan. 21 cover story about the battle between House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and President Donald Trump won praise from readers like David H. Fauss of Pompano Beach, Fla., who applauded the "wonderful analysis and reporting" that showed how Trump had "given himself no room to negotiate" on the government shutdown. Jason Seiler's cover illustration—a caricature of Pelosi and Trump launching subpoenas and tweets at each other—also drew praise, with reader John Graham Miller of Eden Prairie, Minn., calling it the best cover he's seen in more than 50 years as a subscriber. Twitter user @TheRealOrchid criticized the magazine as "trivializ[ing] this situation" by depicting the leaders cartoonishly, but Mark Del Mauro of Denville, N.J., joked that showing Trump perched on a wall was "an appropriate reminder of what happened to Humpty Dumpty."

'Kudos for the brilliant cover. I laughed out loud!'

NANCY LIGHT, Duvall, Wash.

THE HEIR Tennis fans on Twitter debated the cover line on the Jan. 21 international edition, which showed player Naomi Osaka and pondered whether she was the successor to Serena Williams, whom she defeated at the 2018 U.S. Open. @JohnHRobertsJr tweeted that Osaka "is the future," while @vuxulu tweeted that "Serena is the greatest." @JwatksJackie said the media should stop encouraging Osaka to "be the next SW instead of trying to be the best HER!" Meanwhile, @MajorCoolBrotha pointed out what the players have in common: They are both "black women who are heroes and champions."

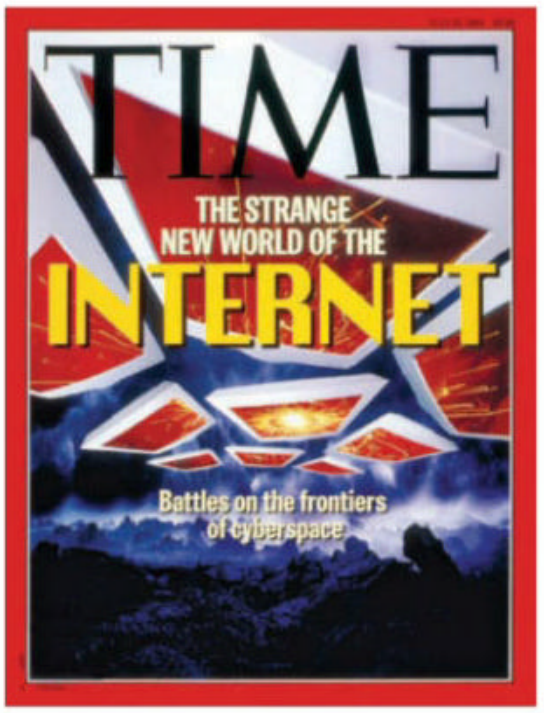
'"Succeed" Serena ... wow! That's a lot of pressure!!'

@CANDYCEESTL, on Twitter

Back in TIME

Brave new world
July 25, 1994

This week's look at the challenges of connectivity *(page 22)* comes 25 years after one of TIME's first explorations of the perils of online life. In 1994, when readers needed an FAQ on what the Internet even was, "for those who are still a little fuzzy about these things," the magazine acknowledged that there were already enough people online that "informal rules" were no longer enough to stop bad behavior. Read at **time.com/vault**



AT THE BORDER TIME spoke to residents of McAllen, Texas, the border city from which President Trump gave a Jan. 10 speech urging the building of a wall, about what they think of that idea—and whether it's worth a partial government shutdown. Read their reactions at **time.com/border-dispatch**

bonus TIME health

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In the Nov. 26/Dec. 3 issue, "The 50 Best Inventions of 2018" misidentified the location of Gravity Industries' headquarters. It is in Salisbury, England.

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DOUG MILLS—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

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For the Record

‘We won’t agree on everything, which is normal in a democracy. But at least we’ll show we’re a people which is not afraid of talking, exchanging, debating.’

EMMANUEL MACRON,
French President, in a Jan. 13 open letter imploring the people of his country to engage in peaceful debate; the letter comes after weeks of violent antigovernment protest

‘I regret the positions I took in the past.’

TULSI GABBARD,
Hawaiian Congresswoman, responding to criticism of her previous anti-LGBTQ activism, shortly after she announced her bid for the Democratic nomination for President in 2020

$204,000

Amount for which a rare 1943 penny—mistakenly minted in bronze instead of zinc-coated steel—sold at auction

‘This bunch of Mexicans are not as bad as sometimes they are portrayed.’

ALFONSO CUARÓN,
director, accepting the Critics’ Choice Award for Best Picture for *Roma,* a film based on his upbringing in Mexico City

‘THE AGE OF SELF-INFLICTED AMERICAN SHAME IS OVER.’

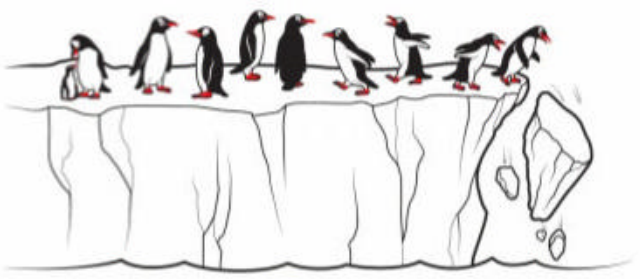
MIKE POMPEO,
U.S. Secretary of State, alluding to the reversal of President Obama’s Middle East policies, in a Jan. 10 speech at the American University in Cairo

26 lb., 10 oz.

Weight of a bucket of macaroni and cheese with a 20-year shelf life that quickly sold out on Costco’s website

‘AT LEAST RETURN MY SCRIPT.’

HUGH GRANT,
actor, in a Twitter plea after his car was broken into



250 billion

Rough weight in tons of the Antarctic ice lost each year since 2009, per a new study; researchers found that the ice has melted significantly faster in recent years

Chicken
Tractor trailer carrying 40,000 lb. of frozen chicken catches fire in tunnel under an Atlanta airport runway

Egg
A brown-egg photo is the most liked on Instagram

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: AP; HERITAGE AUCTIONS; HOLLYWOOD REPORTER; NEW YORK TIMES; UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE

The Brief

TOP COP Attorney General nominee William Barr faces the Senate Judiciary Committee on Jan. 15

INSIDE

THE OPPOSITION LEADER WHO WANTS TO OFFER VENEZUELA A WAY OUT OF AUTOCRACY

THE POTENTIAL FALLOUT FROM THERESA MAY'S BIG BREXIT DEFEAT

THE REMARKABLE PRESENCE OF CAROL CHANNING, REMEMBERED BY HARVEY FIERSTEIN

PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLYN KASTER

JUSTICE

How William Barr may determine Trump's fate

By Tessa Berenson

TWO PRINCIPLES HAVE DEFINED WILLIAM Barr's 42-year legal career: adherence to law and order, and dogged defense of a powerful presidency. The question hanging over the Senate hearings beginning on Jan. 15 on Barr's nomination to be the next Attorney General was how the plainspoken Washington lawyer would reconcile those twin pillars of his professional philosophy if they came into conflict.

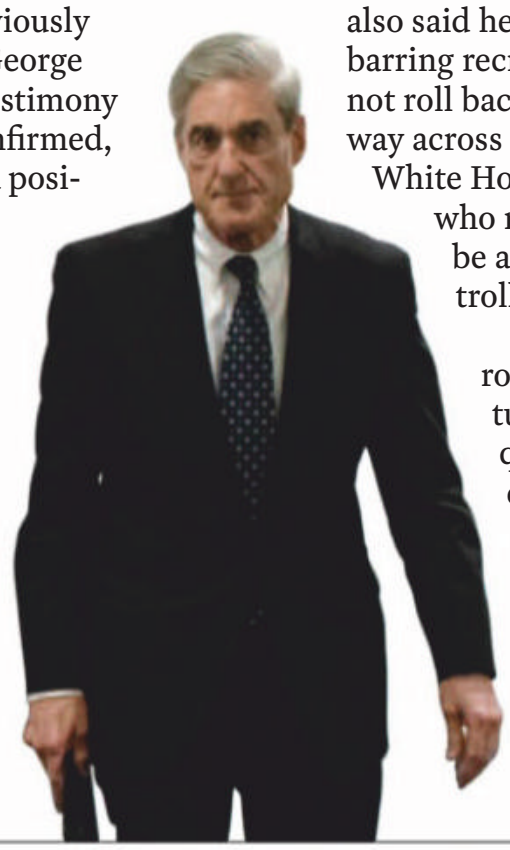
If confirmed, Barr would take the job under extraordinary circumstances, with multiple Justice Department investigations swirling close to President Donald Trump. Special counsel Robert Mueller's probe into possible collusion between Trump's 2016 campaign and Russia—and whether the President obstructed that investigation—is ongoing. The Justice Department's Manhattan office is looking at potential campaign finance violations in Trump's hush-money payments to women alleging affairs. And the New York *Times* reported on Jan. 11 that the FBI's counterintelligence division opened a probe in May 2017 into whether Trump was acting as a foreign agent for Russia. All of those investigations would answer to Barr, who may ultimately be forced to reckon with the question of what to do if the evidence indicates a sitting President has broken the law.

That in turn could place Barr, 68, at the center of an unprecedented test for the Constitution and American democracy. Barr, who previously served as Attorney General under President George H.W. Bush, made one thing clear during his testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee: If confirmed, he'll be the one making the final call. "I'm in a position in life where I can do the right thing and not really care about the consequences," Barr said at his hearing. "I will not be bullied into doing anything I think is wrong."

THAT CONFIDENCE COMES from being in the twilight of a career that included close interaction with Mueller. When Barr was Attorney General from 1991 to 1993, Mueller served under him as head of the DOJ's criminal division. Barr described them at his hearing as "good friends" and said Mueller is "absolutely" fair-minded. "I don't believe Mr. Mueller would be involved in a witch hunt," Barr said, invoking Trump's criticism of Mueller's work.

'I don't believe Mr. Mueller would be involved in a witch hunt.'

WILLIAM BARR, Trump's AG pick, who worked with Robert Mueller *(below)* at the Justice Department in the 1990s



On the surface, Barr's robust support for Mueller seemed to spell trouble for Trump, who has demanded a quick, quiet end to the investigation. Barr promised that Mueller would be allowed to finish under his leadership. And he said Mueller's final report—which according to DOJ guidelines will be submitted to the Attorney General first—should also be widely released. "My objective and goal," Barr said, "is to get as much of the information as I can to Congress and the public."

But there were subtle signs that Barr's adherence to the rules, and his defense of the presidency, might end up protecting Trump. Barr acknowledged that the information shared with Congress could be limited by existing Justice Department regulations, especially if Mueller declines to prosecute the President. Barr also said he believes a sitting President cannot be indicted. "For 40 years the position of the Executive Branch has been you can't indict a sitting President," Barr said, adding that he had not read the DOJ opinions in some time but saw "no reason to change them."

Taken together, those two positions could curtail what the public learns about Trump's involvement in any of the matters under investigation. Some Trump allies liked what they heard. "He gave deference [to investigators] where he should have," says Victoria Toensing, a Washington lawyer who once discussed the possibility of joining Trump's legal team. "But he also would not give up or acquiesce, as [former Attorney General] Jeff Sessions did."

Beyond the investigations, Barr sketched an expansive view of executive power and thoughts on other key issues that could shape many areas of American life. He said he supports a physical barrier along the southern border and that, though he has some misgivings about harsh drug-sentencing rules he formerly championed, "overall" the system treats black and white people equally. Barr also said he thinks Congress should pass a federal law barring recreational marijuana nationwide but would not roll back legalization experiments already under way across the U.S. In total, his testimony heartened the White House and increased the likelihood that Barr—who requires 50 votes for confirmation—would be approved for the job by the Republican-controlled Senate.

If he is, all signs point to his playing a crucial role well beyond the Mueller probe, however it turns out. Even if Barr never faces the hardest question—what to do if Mueller finds Trump committed crimes—as Attorney General he could help determine the outcome of the multiple congressional investigations launched by Democrat-controlled House committees. Barr would control how much of Mueller's evidence Congress sees, which could provide the basis for impeachment proceedings. Which is why the fate of Trump's presidency might rest with William Barr. ◻

PREVIOUS PAGE: AP; MUELLER: ANDREW HARNIK—AP; TEACHERS: ALEX WELSH

ON THE MARCH Striking teachers march in Los Angeles on Jan. 14 to demand better school funding, smaller class sizes and higher pay. The city is home to the second largest school district in the U.S., with some 500,000 students. Tens of thousands of teachers took to the streets, joining an ongoing national movement spurred by a lack of education funding. The school strike, which took place after negotiations for a 6.5% pay raise broke down, was the first Los Angeles had seen in 30 years.

THE BULLETIN

A fresh-faced challenger seeks to unite Venezuelans against their government

SINCE 2014, VENEZUELA HAS DESCENDED from socialist experiment into humanitarian crisis. But with opposition fractured and the public demoralized, there's been no obvious alternative to the authoritarian regime that drove the decline. That may have changed on Jan. 11, when just one day into President Nicolás Maduro's second term, little-known leader Juan Guaidó announced he was ready to take Maduro's job.

NEW HOPE Guaidó, a 35-year-old opposition lawmaker, became head of Venezuela's parliament in early January. Maduro stripped that body of influence in 2017, but the constitution says its leader must take charge if there's a power vacuum in the country. Guaidó claims Maduro's new term—won in rigged elections last year—is exactly that. Regional powers Brazil and Colombia, as well as the U.S., have voiced their support for his claim. At home, Guaidó inspires followers with a "new narrative," says Venezuela expert Diego Moya-Ocampos. "He's laying out a path to democracy."

TOUCH AND GO Secret police detained Guaidó on Jan. 13, only to release him less than an hour later, with the government blaming rogue agents. The arrest suggested the regime is divided on how to deal with Guaidó and highlighted his vulnerability. Maduro has the backing of the military, Venezuela's most powerful institution, and Guaidó can't take power unless it withdraws support for the President. With the army enjoying an outsize influence under Maduro and the military intelligence service stifling dissent, it's unlikely they will switch sides.

AGAINST THE TIDE "The game has changed now," Guaidó said after his release. He has called for a mass protest on Jan. 23, the anniversary of the 1958 overthrow of a Venezuelan dictator through an uprising that unified civilians and the military. If future demonstrations get too big to contain, some army factions may waver, Moya-Ocampos says. But with protesters facing fierce state repression, it's unclear whether history can repeat itself. —CIARA NUGENT

NEWS TICKER

Canadian in China faces death

In a ruling condemned by Canadian PM Justin Trudeau, Robert Lloyd Schellenberg—who was found guilty of drug smuggling in China—was sentenced to death on Jan. 14, in what **analysts say was a retaliation against** the arrest in Vancouver of Meng Wanzhou, a top exec at Chinese tech giant Huawei.

King penalized after white supremacy comments

House Republican leaders voted on Jan. 14 **not to seat Iowa Representative Steve King on House committees** as a rebuke for his comments, published in the New York *Times,* wondering aloud why white supremacy is offensive. King, who has a history of anti-immigrant and anti-minority remarks, said his words were "mischaracterized."

Polish mayor dies after stabbing

Pawel Adamowicz, the liberal mayor of the city of Gdansk, died on Jan. 14 after he was **stabbed at a charity event.** Some blamed Poland's political divisions for the attack. The suspect, an ex-convict who blamed the mayor for his imprisonment, pleaded not guilty.

NEWS TICKER

Judge blocks Census ask on citizenship

A federal judge in New York blocked the Trump Administration on Jan. 15 from **asking about citizenship status in the 2020 Census.** The ruling was welcomed by advocates who had feared the question would deter participation by immigrants. It is likely to come before the Supreme Court.

Ivory Coast ex-leader cleared by ICC

The International Criminal Court in the Hague said on Jan. 15 it had **acquitted Laurent Gbagbo, ex-President of Ivory Coast, of alleged crimes against humanity** perpetrated after the country's 2010 election, during a period in which some 3,000 people died, per Human Rights Watch.

U.S. troops killed in Syria suicide-bomb attack

A suicide bomber **in the Syrian town of Manbij killed a number of U.S. service members** on Jan. 16, just weeks after President Trump said he would withdraw troops from the country. The Americans were among the roughly 15 victims of the attack, for which the Islamic State has claimed responsibility.

GOOD QUESTION

After Theresa May's historic defeat, could Brexit be called off?

ON JAN. 15, THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT SUFfered its biggest defeat in modern parliamentary history, after lawmakers rejected Prime Minister Theresa May's flagship Brexit deal by a margin of 230 votes. The deal was intended to smooth Britain's departure from the E.U. by setting out the terms of the two entities' post-split relationship. Unless an alternative plan can win the backing of Parliament, the country is on a default path to crash out of the bloc on March 29.

That's if Brexit isn't delayed or canceled. In June 2016, 52% of British voters opted to leave the E.U.—but May warned in a last-ditch speech that if lawmakers rejected her deal, they would run "the risk of no Brexit at all." That outcome *is* technically still possible, but unlikely. After all, on Jan. 16, May narrowly survived a vote of no confidence that could have toppled her government. It was another reminder of the extent to which Brexit has upended British politics: many of the same lawmakers who dealt May the largest landslide loss in living memory voted to keep her on as Prime Minister just 24 hours later.

What does seem increasingly likely is that Brexit might be delayed—even though May has ruled that out in the past. Britain's Finance Minister reportedly hinted as much in a call to business leaders after the government's defeat. But the next morning, another government minister ruled out the possibility.

One thing most lawmakers agree on is that Britain can't risk leaving with no deal. The Bank of England warns an abrupt end to E.U. access could throw the U.K. into a recession worse than 2008's financial crisis. To avoid that outcome, May will meet with lawmakers who voted against her deal to try to hash out a new approach. She must address Parliament again on or before Jan. 21 to present a plan B.

The challenge is the sheer number of factions she must placate. After the Jan. 15 vote, protesters outside Parliament demanding a "Hard Brexit" celebrated alongside their ideological rivals, so-called Remainers, who wish to scrap Brexit altogether. And inside, lawmakers who voted against her deal did so for different, mutually incompatible reasons. "If you look at all the constituent groups and what they want, it seems like an impossible task to get any kind of parliamentary majority for any kind of deal," says Nina Schick, a political analyst.

The historic defeat nevertheless means May will have to compromise. In negotiations with the E.U., she has stood firm on a series of "red lines," including casting off the E.U.'s economic rules and scrapping the right of its citizens to freely live and work in Britain. Now she's under renewed pressure to move those lines. "The government has to find a deal they can negotiate with the E.U. but first of all which can get through Parliament," says Damian Green, one of May's closest allies in the Conservative Party.

In the end, as long as May is in office, she has no intention of calling off Brexit. "She has an enormous sense of duty," Green says, "and she sees it as her duty to deliver Brexit." —BILLY PERRIGO

WILDLIFE

Animal invasions

At least 40 harp seals have made themselves at home in the town of Roddickton-Bide Arm in Newfoundland, having apparently become stranded after the waterways that brought them there froze up. Here are other unlikely animal inundations. —*Alejandro de la Garza*

GOATS ON THE GO
More than a hundred goats swarmed a residential neighborhood in Boise, Idaho, in August, after breaking through a fence at a nearby field. Eventually, all 118 were safely rounded up.

ELEPHANTS EVERYWHERE
Dozens of wild elephants, seemingly in search of food, surprised residents of the village of Numaligarh in India in January 2017, damaging shops and homes in their stampede.

BIRD WATCH
The illumination of the annual *Tribute in Light* at the Sept. 11 memorial in NYC always draws birds to the beams—but if volunteers count more than 1,000, the lights are shut off for 20 minutes in order to let them disperse.

DIED
› **Mel Stottlemyre,** former Yankees All-Star pitcher and coach, at 77, on Jan. 13.
› **Jakiw Palij,** the last known WW II Nazi to live in the U.S., at 95, on Jan. 9, after being deported to Germany last year.

ATTACKED
A hotel complex in **Nairobi,** by suspected militants, on Jan. 15. At least 14 were killed.

PROMISED
By GoFundMe, a refund of more than $20 million given to a campaign **to help pay for President Trump's border wall,** after the effort failed to reach its $1 billion goal.

GERMINATED
Seeds taken to the moon by China's **Chang'e-4 mission, as shown in** photos released on Jan. 15. They are the first biological matter to grow on the lunar surface.

BLOCKED
A Trump Administration rule to allow employers to elect **not to provide contraceptive coverage** on moral or religious grounds, by a judge, on Jan. 14.

FOUND
Kidnapping survivor **Jayme Closs,** 13, after escaping on Jan. 10. The suspect, Jake Patterson, who is in police custody, is accused of killing Closs's parents and taking her in October.

REVOKED
The honorary titles of **Nobel Prize winner James Watson,** "the father of DNA," by his lab on Jan. 11, after he said he believes in a link between race and intelligence.

GOATS: RUTH BROWN—IDAHO STATESMAN/TNS/GETTY IMAGES; CHANNING: PHOTOSHOT/HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES; BLOOM: MICHAEL OCHS ARCHIVES/GETTY IMAGES

Channing, above in 1967, received three Tony Awards, including one for lifetime achievement

DIED

Carol Channing
Unmistakable voice

By Harvey Fierstein

ANYONE WHO EVER MET CAROL CHANNING WILL TELL YOU that there was no greater thrill than to walk into a room and find her there. Those giant saucer eyes, whether bedecked in black daisy lashes or, as in later years, peering out at you from behind mammoth eyeglass frames, were alit with humor and intelligence, endless curiosity and welcome. There was no smile on this planet that engendered more joy than hers. Her marionette arms embraced you with a love that sent electric shocks straight to your soul—and her voice, that unmistakable trumpeting growl, invited imitation by even the least talented mimic, because you just had to know what it felt like to sound that way.

Carol Channing, who died Jan. 15 at 97, was so much more than an actress or a performer or even a star. She was an icon, a true legend, completely original, absolutely singular, recognizable a mile away all around the globe. She will always be remembered for her stage persona in *Hello, Dolly!* and film performances in movies like *Thoroughly Modern Millie,* but it didn't matter what material she was performing. Classic role or cheesy TV special, all you cared about was spending as much time as you could in the glow of that magical firelight that was Carol Channing.

Fierstein is a Tony Award–winning actor and playwright

DIED

Verna Bloom
Star quality

By Martin Scorsese

IN 1969, I MET JAY COCKS. WE became friends. Back then Jay was a movie critic for TIME, and he started inviting me to press screenings. We went to see a picture called *Medium Cool,* and Jay thought the actress in it was incredible. Her name was Verna Bloom. He asked if I'd go along with him to interview her, so I did. A few years later, I was the best man at their wedding.

It's overwhelming to go through life with somebody and then realize they aren't there anymore. I've known Verna, who died on Jan. 9 at 80, for 49 years. She was family. We shared so much. Verna was a terrific storyteller with a great sense of humor, and she presided over many wonderful gatherings where I met people who became central in my life, including John Cassavetes and Robert De Niro. We worked together only twice, which was precious to me. In *The Last Temptation of Christ,* there isn't a single false note in her performance as Mary. It wasn't really about "directing." It was just a matter of working together, with someone I knew, someone I trusted, someone I could depend on. Someone I loved.

Scorsese is an Oscar-winning director

Gina Rodriguez takes a seat in the director's chair, then springs into action

By Eliana Dockterman

"ARE WE PLANKING?" GINA RODRIGUEZ CALLS out on the set of *Jane the Virgin*. She leads a small group of crew members past a row of pastel-colored houses and into the bungalow that her character Jane has shared with her mother and grandmother for four seasons of television. Clad in sneakers and camo sweatpants, Rodriguez drops into a push-up position, sets a timer for one minute and yells out encouragement to the others during the ab exercise. When time is up, she makes a beeline for her director's chair. This is just the third episode of television Rodriguez has ever directed, but she never pauses to second-guess a choice. She barely sits down before springing up again, hopping up and down as she watches the monitors.

Her Energizer Bunny–level exuberance is all the more impressive considering she recently wrapped two films—the action movie *Miss Bala,* out Feb. 1, and the upcoming comedy *Someone Great*—in between lending her voice to Netflix's new reboot of the children's show *Carmen Sandiego* (Jan. 18), directing an episode of the show *Charmed* and running her production company.

On this January morning, filming begins for the first episode of *Jane the Virgin*'s fifth and final season. Rodriguez will have to direct herself through some of Jane's most emotionally wrenching scenes yet. The tears come easily: Rodriguez has been a "raw nerve" since the table read this morning, when she began to consider what it will mean to bid farewell to this brightly colored set where a tight-knit cast and crew fostered her rise.

She spots something on the monitors in front of her and jogs away, yelling, "I have an idea!" Her chair, now empty, reads I CAN AND I WILL, an affirmation her father, a boxing referee, used to whisper in the ears of Rodriguez and her two sisters while they slept, hoping they would subconsciously absorb the wisdom. It's a phrase Rodriguez repeats often, including in a 2015 Golden Globes acceptance speech for Best Actress in a Comedy that thrust her into the limelight. She even named her production company after it.

Back in 2014, Rodriguez was incredulous when executives at the CW network asked her to audition as the lead on *Jane*. "I was like, 'They know I'm Puerto Rican, right? And they're cool with that?'" she says. "I used to say I wasn't pretty enough for the CW. Growing up without people who look like you on TV messes with your head."

HER BIGGEST YEAR YET

Carmen Sandiego
Rodriguez has long idolized Rita Moreno: "She voiced Carmen in the original series. So when they offered the reboot to me, I cried."

Miss Bala
"It's a remake of a Mexican film. They usually whitewash it. But this was 95% Latinx in front and behind the camera. I couldn't pass up that opportunity."

Someone Great
Rodriguez plays a woman who bonds with her best friends after a breakup.

For the uninitiated, *Jane the Virgin* is loosely based on a Venezuelan telenovela about a virgin who is accidentally artificially inseminated. Jane decides to keep the baby, a choice complicated by the fact that her longtime boyfriend, an earnest police detective, is planning to propose. Meanwhile, the unintentional sperm donor turns out to be an old crush—a feckless millionaire with a heart of gold. She navigates the inevitable love triangle with the help of her mother and grandmother, a trinity of kind, powerful and complicated women.

The show is at once a self-aware spoof of and an unabashed love letter to telenovelas. To call it a "guilty pleasure" would be to minimize its genius: the series proved that a warmhearted heroine could be as complex and enthralling as the difficult men, like *Mad Men*'s Don Draper, who dominated prestige television when *Jane* premiered.

Behind the scenes as well, the show stood out from the rest of Hollywood. Showrunner Jennie Urman has a team of 10 women and three men for her writing staff. Four of the writers are Latinx, and women direct half the episodes. It was because of Urman that Rodriguez fulfilled her own dream to direct, after others had rebuffed her: "People were just like, 'You're just a little Latina actress. How are you going to be a director?'"

Though movements like Time's Up (of which Rodriguez is an active member) are dedicated to addressing sexism and racism in Hollywood, Latina women still account for a mere 7% of all speaking roles in major films. Just one Latina director, Patricia Riggen, helmed one of the 1,200 top-grossing movies from 2007 to 2018, according to a recent study. Rodriguez says she is an activist first. On every project, she has demanded inclusion on a par with *Jane the Virgin*'s. "I refuse to enter a space where it's not as liberating as this. Are 50% of the writers women? The directors? Are those women intersectional?" she says, referring to representation across race, class, sexual orientation and other aspects of a person's identity. "No? O.K., let's change that or find yourself someone else."

AFTER SHE FINISHES shooting scenes for the day, Rodriguez heads back to the couch in her dressing room, where she leans over to reveal a scar on her forehead. When she was 7, she explains, she was walking through her Chicago neighborhood selling Girl Scout cookies. While crossing the street, she slipped. "I get stabbed by one of the icicles under a car," she says, "and my mother comes outside and lifts that motherf-cking car up." Rodriguez was raised to believe that women are unstoppable, and throughout her career she has fought for more ambitious material. When she read for the lead in *Miss Bala,* which she was eager to accept when the studio confirmed that 95% of the cast

ROZETTE RAGO FOR TIME

and crew would be Latinx, she found herself making the same note repeatedly: "What would a man do in this situation?" She fought to execute every stunt that a male lead would. "You're going to tell me that women aren't strong enough? We suffer through pain one week a month and never complain. We pill it, plug it, keep it moving."

A longtime boxer who spars on a punching bag in her dressing room between takes, Rodriguez harbors ambitions to become an action star. After lending her voice to Carmen Sandiego for the animated series, she pitched Netflix on a live-action version. "I want to rappel out of a helicopter," she says. "Tom Cruise, what's up?" But she waffles on whether she would really want action-hero-level stardom. As one of the most prominent Latinx actors in Hollywood, she often feels she's expected to speak for an entire group. She's proud to take on that role, but the backlash for even a perceived misstep can be brutal. Recently, when asked during a panel about the pay gap, she said Latina women are paid less than black or white women. And across all industries, the statistics say she's correct. But some criticized her comments as unnecessarily comparing the plight of different minority groups. "When my words have been taken out of context and hurt others, it's devastating," she says through tears. "I never intend to hurt anyone. I feel their pain, and I empathize."

'People were like, "You're just a little Latina actress. How are you going to be a director?"'

GINA RODRIGUEZ, on getting her start directing

In moments of stress, Urman encourages Rodriguez to "cocoon in her art." So Rodriguez is concentrating on using her platform to create change. Her production company just sold a series to Disney's new streaming service about a Latina girl who will grow up to be President. After all, it's children, she argues, who are most affected by the lack of diversity onscreen. On a recent trip to Miami, a girl of about 10 approached the actor. "She's Puerto Rican, and she's very excited that I'm Puerto Rican," Rodriguez recalls. "She goes, 'Gina, I saw you at the Golden Globes. And, you know, no Latino actors won anything.'" In the four years since Rodriguez won her Globe, only two Latinx actors have won at the ceremony.

"I go, 'You noticed that, huh?' And she asks, 'When are we going to get there?'"

Rodriguez told her, "I'm working on it." ◻

Fallen might

A severed Joshua tree rests in its namesake national park on Jan. 8, more than two weeks into a partial government shutdown. More than 21,000 National Park Service employees have been on furlough since Dec. 22, but California's Joshua Tree National Park has stayed open. With fewer workers on guard, some of the famous trees were reportedly felled by vandals who carved new roads in the park. Officials said they'd use recreation fees paid by visitors, which are not hit by the shutdown, to deal with maintenance issues.

Photograph by Gina Ferazzi—Los Angeles Times/Polaris

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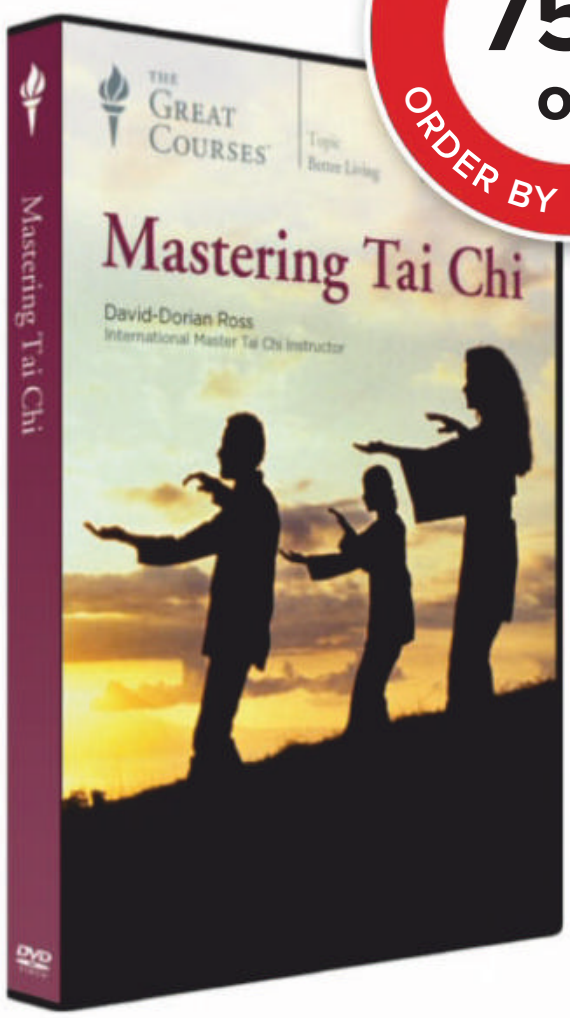

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HISTORY

KING'S OTHER LEGACY

By Viet Thanh Nguyen

Most Americans remember Martin Luther King Jr. for his dream of what this country could be, a nation where his children would "not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." While those words from 1963 are necessary, his speech "Beyond Vietnam," from 1967, is actually the more insightful one.

It is also a much more dangerous and disturbing speech, which is why far fewer Americans have heard of it. And yet it is the speech that we needed to hear then—and need to hear today.

In 1963, many in the U.S. had only just begun to be aware of events in Vietnam. By 1967, the war was near its peak, with about 500,000 American soldiers in Vietnam. The U.S. would drop more explosives on Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia than it did on all of Europe during World War II, and the news brought vivid images depicting the carnage inflicted on Southeast Asian civilians, hundreds of thousands of whom would die. It was in this context that King called the U.S. "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today."

Many of King's civil rights allies discouraged him from going public with his antiwar views, believing that he should prioritize the somewhat less controversial domestic concerns of African Americans and the poor. But for King, standing against racial and economic inequality also demanded a recognition that those problems were inseparable from the military-industrial complex and capitalism itself. King saw "the war as an enemy of the poor," as young black men were sent to "guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in southwest Georgia and East Harlem."

What King understood was that the war was destroying not only the character of the U.S. but also the character of its soldiers. Ironically, it also managed to create a kind of American racial equality in Vietnam, as black and white soldiers stood "in brutal solidarity" against the Vietnamese. But if they were fighting what King saw as an unjust war, then they, too, were perpetrators of injustice, even if they were victims of it at home. For American civilians, the uncomfortable reality was that the immorality of an unjust war corrupted the entire country. "If America's soul becomes totally poisoned," King said, "part of the autopsy must read VIETNAM."

In his speech, which he delivered exactly one year to the day before he was assassinated, King foresaw how the war implied something larger about the nation. It was, he said, "but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit, and if we ignore this sobering reality … we will find ourselves organizing 'clergy and laymen concerned' committees for the next generation … unless there is a significant and profound change in American life."

King delivering his speech "Beyond Vietnam" at New York City's Riverside Church in 1967

What made King truly radical was his desire to act on this empathy for people not like himself

KING'S PROPHECY connects the war in Vietnam with our forever wars today, spread across multiple countries and continents, waged without end from global military bases numbering around 800. Some of the strategy for our forever war comes directly from lessons that the American military learned in Vietnam: drone strikes instead of mass bombing; volunteer soldiers instead of draftees; censorship of gruesome images from the battlefronts; and encouraging the reverence of soldiers.

You can draw a line from the mantras of "thank you for your service" and "support our troops" to American civilian regret about not having supported American troops during the war in Vietnam. This sentimental hero worship actually serves civilians as much as the military. If our soldiers can be absolved of any unjust taint, then the public who support them is absolved too. Standing in solidarity with our multicultural, diverse military prevents us from seeing what they might be doing to other people overseas and insulates us from the most dangerous part about King's speech: a sense of moral outrage that was not limited by the borders of nation, class or race but sought to transcend them.

What made King truly radical was his desire to act on this empathy for people not like himself, neither black nor American. For him, there was "no meaningful solution" to the war without taking into account Vietnamese people, who were "the voiceless ones." Recognizing their suffering from far away, King connected it with the intimate suffering of African Americans at home. The African-American struggle to liberate black people found a corollary in the struggle of Vietnamese people against foreign domination. It was therefore a bitter irony that African Americans might be used to suppress the freedom of others, to participate in, as King put it, "the role our nation has taken, the role of those who

JOHN C. GOODWIN

make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investments."

Americans prefer to see our wars as exercises in protecting and expanding freedom and democracy. To suggest that we might be fighting for capitalism is too disturbing for many Americans. But King said "that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we … must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin … the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society." Those words, and their threat to the powerful, still apply today. For the powerful, the only thing more frightening than one revolution is when multiple revolutions find common cause.

THE REVOLUTION that King called for is still unrealized, while the "giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism and militarism" are still working in brutal, efficient solidarity. He overlooked how misogyny was also an evil, but perhaps, if he had lived, he would have learned from his own philosophy about connecting what seems unconnected, about recognizing those who are unrecognized. Too many of today's politicians, pundits and activists are satisfied with relying on one-dimensional solutions, arguing that class-based solutions alone can solve economic inequality, or that identity-based approaches are enough to alleviate racial inequality.

King argued for an ever expanding moral solidarity that would include those we think of as the enemy: "Here is the true meaning and value of compassion and nonviolence, when it helps us to see the enemy's point of view … For from his view we may indeed see the basic weaknesses of our own condition, and if we are mature, we may learn and grow and profit from the wisdom of the brothers who are called the opposition."

This was the dream of King's that I prefer—the vision of a difficult and ever expanding kinship, extending not only to those whom we consider near and dear, but also to the far and the feared.

Nguyen is the Pulitzer Prize–winning author of The Sympathizer. *His latest collection is* The Refugees

THE RISK REPORT

Trump's pledge to pull U.S. out of Syria meets reality

By Ian Bremmer

IN THE MONTH since President Trump made the surprise announcement that he would withdraw U.S. troops from Syria, the policy has slowly disintegrated into a mess. First, the snap decision cost him a Defense Secretary, Jim Mattis, who inspired bipartisan respect and trust. Second, anxious allies like Saudi Arabia and Israel urged the President to rethink a move that might strengthen the regime of Bashar Assad and its backers in Russia and Iran.

Then on Jan. 16, several U.S. troops were killed in Syria by alleged ISIS operatives—almost exactly a month after the President's confident assurance that he was pulling out because ISIS had been defeated. The attack threatened to prove right the critics who said a hasty withdrawal would inspire the Islamic State to new brutalities.

If more American soldiers die in Syria, it becomes more difficult to claim the withdrawal as mission accomplished

Trump firmly believes that Americans don't want an open-ended commitment of U.S. troops and taxpayer dollars to another inherently unstable Middle Eastern country. Although he has been forced to slow the drawdown and has dispatched Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to reassure regional allies that the U.S. intends to help "expel every last Iranian boot" from Syria, he wants to find a way to fulfill a promise to his base to stop "endless wars."

Aside from ISIS, one of the most serious obstacles to that goal is Turkey, paradoxically one of the few U.S. allies to welcome the U.S. withdrawal. It was during a friendly phone call with President Recep Tayyip Erdogan that Trump first agreed to the policy shift. Since then he has discovered that withdrawal means leaving Syrian Kurds, who are U.S. allies, at the mercy of Turkey's military, which would like to destroy them. Erdogan insists that Syria's Kurds are enemies of the Turkish state and that their ties with Kurdish terrorists inside Turkey threaten his country's national security.

In early January, U.S. National Security Adviser John Bolton said U.S. troops would not withdraw unless Erdogan promised to leave the Syrian Kurds alone. Erdogan bristled at Bolton's remarks, telling the Turkish parliament "it is not possible for me to swallow this." On Jan. 13, Trump poured fuel on the fire by tweeting that the U.S. "will devastate Turkey economically if they hit Kurds."

The following day, the two came to a compromise of sorts in a conciliatory phone call in which they discussed a buffer zone intended to keep Syrian Kurds away from the Turkish border. But it's not clear who would police that if U.S. troops do indeed leave the country. Trump might just have been telling Erdogan what he wanted to hear.

And that was before ISIS resumed killing American troops. Trump has made clear that Syria is not among the subjects that interest him most. He's described the country as a place of "sand and death." But while Americans are dying there, it becomes more difficult to claim the withdrawal as mission accomplished. And it will be impossible if Erdogan decides to target U.S. allies instead of ISIS.

The two leaders have much in common. Both are charismatic men who inspire deep loyalty from their strongest supporters, and both bristle when they feel they're being insulted. Unless they can reach some kind of common ground over the U.S. withdrawal, Trump's Syria policy looks set to become not just a mess but a quagmire. ◻

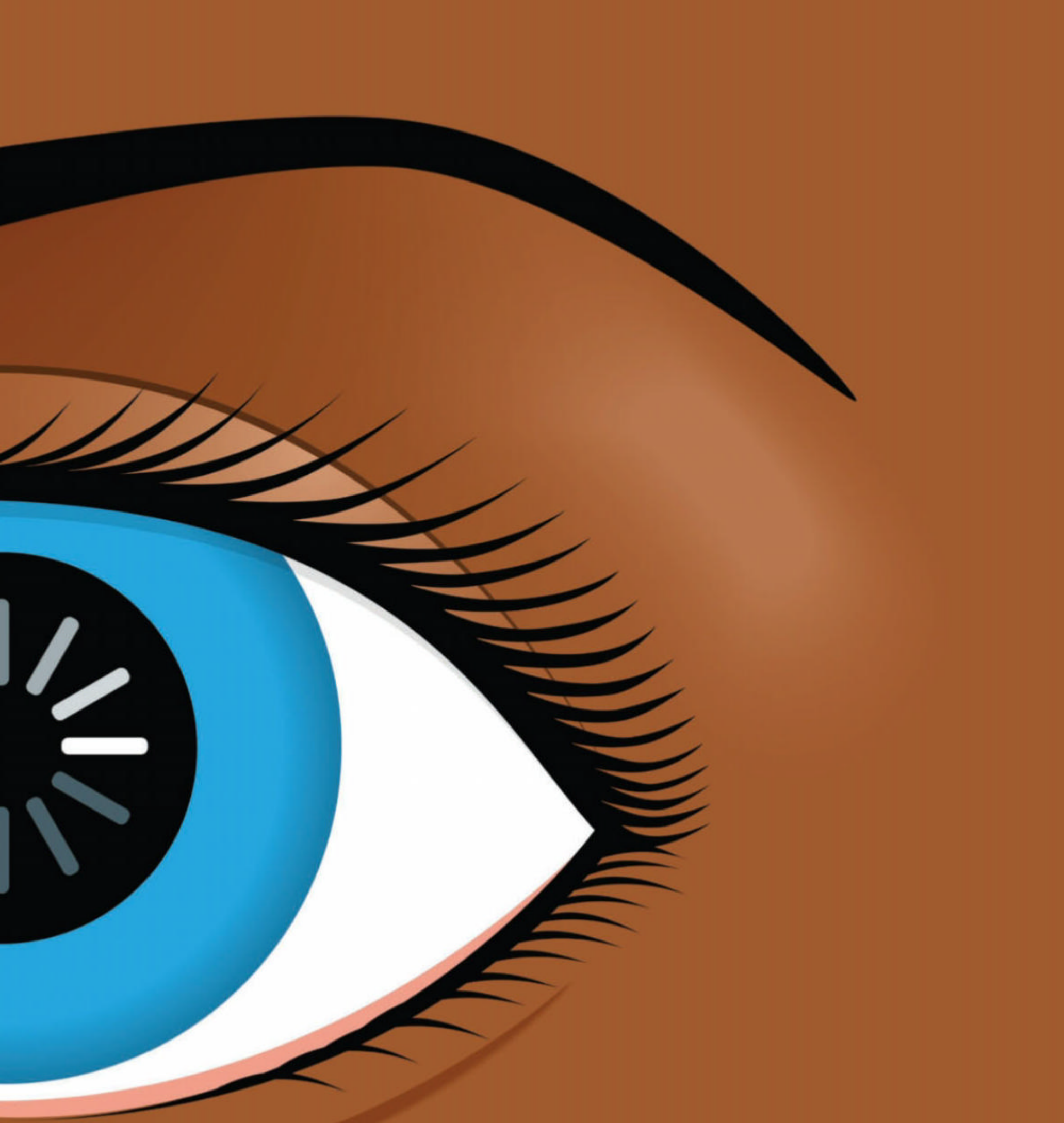
Technology

HOW TO FIX SOCIAL MEDIA BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE

AN EARLY INVESTOR ON HOW FACEBOOK LOST ITS WAY

BY ROGER MCNAMEE

ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN W. TOMAC FOR TIME



Technology

I am really sad about Facebook.

I got involved with the company more than a decade ago and have taken great pride and joy in the company's success … until the past few months. Now I am disappointed. I am embarrassed. I am ashamed. With more than 1.7 billion members, Facebook is among the most influential businesses in the world. Whether they like it or not—whether Facebook is a technology company or a media company—the company has a huge impact on politics and social welfare. Every decision that management makes can matter to the lives of real people. Management is responsible for every action. Just as they get credit for every success, they need to be held accountable for failures. Recently, Facebook has done some things that are truly horrible, and I can no longer excuse its behavior.

NINE DAYS BEFORE THE NOVEMBER 2016 ELECTION, I SENT the email above to Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg and chief operating officer Sheryl Sandberg. It was the text for an op-ed I was planning to publish about problems I was seeing on Facebook. Earlier in the year, I noticed a surge of disturbing images, shared by friends, that originated on Facebook Groups ostensibly associated with the Bernie Sanders campaign, but it was impossible to imagine they came from his campaign. I wanted to share with Sandberg and Zuckerberg my fear that bad actors were exploiting Facebook's architecture and business model to inflict harm on innocent people.

I am a longtime tech investor and evangelist. Tech has been my career and my passion. I had been an early adviser to Zuckerberg—Zuck, to many colleagues and friends—and an early investor in Facebook. I had been a true believer for a decade. My early meetings with Zuck almost always occurred in his office, generally just the two of us, so I had an incomplete picture of the man, but he was always straight with me. I liked Zuck. I liked his team. I was a fan of Facebook. I was one of the people he would call on when confronted with new or challenging issues. Mentoring is fun for me, and Zuck could not have been a better mentee. We talked about stuff that was important to Zuck, where I had useful experience. More often than not, he acted on my counsel.

When I sent that email to Zuck and Sheryl, I assumed that Facebook was a victim. What I learned in the months that followed—about the 2016 election, about the spread of Brexit lies, about data on users being sold to other groups—shocked and disappointed me. It took me a very long time to accept that success had blinded Zuck and Sheryl to the consequences of their actions. I have never had a reason to bite Facebook's hand. Even at this writing, I still own shares in Facebook. My criticism of the company is a matter of principle, and owning shares is a good way to make that point. I became an activist because I was among the first to see a catastrophe unfolding, and my history with the company made me a credible voice.

This is a story of my journey. It is a story about power. About privilege. About trust, and how it can be abused.

THE MASSIVE SUCCESS of Facebook eventually led to catastrophe. The business model depends on advertising, which in turn depends on manipulating the attention of users so they see more ads. One of the best ways to manipulate attention is to appeal to outrage and fear, emotions that increase engagement. Facebook's algorithms give users what they want, so each person's News Feed becomes a unique reality, a filter bubble that creates the illusion that most people the user knows believe the same things. Showing users only posts they agree with was good for Facebook's bottom line, but some research showed it also increased polarization and, as we learned, harmed democracy.

To feed its AI and algorithms, Facebook gathered data anywhere it could. Before long, Facebook was spying on everyone, including people who do not use Facebook. Unfortunately for users, Facebook failed to safeguard that data. Facebook sometimes traded the data to get better business deals. These things increased user count and time on-

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McNamee has been a Silicon Valley investor for 35 years. His most recent fund, Elevation, included U2's Bono as a co-founder. This piece is adapted from his new book Zucked: Waking Up to the Facebook Catastrophe *by Roger McNamee. Published by arrangement with Penguin Press, a member of Penguin Random House LLC.* *Copyright © 2019 by Roger McNamee*

TOM BRENNER—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

Facebook CEO Zuckerberg testified to the Senate in Washington, D.C., on April 10, 2018

site, but it took another innovation to make Facebook's advertising business a giant success.

From late 2012 to 2017, Facebook perfected a new idea—growth hacking—where it experimented constantly with algorithms, new data types and small changes in design, measuring everything. Growth hacking enabled Facebook to monetize its oceans of data so effectively that growth-hacking metrics blocked out all other considerations. In the world of growth hacking, users are a metric, not people. Every action a user took gave Facebook a better understanding of that user—and of that user's friends—enabling the company to make tiny "improvements" in the user experience every day, which is to say it got better at manipulating the attention of users. Any advertiser could buy access to that attention. The Russians took full advantage. If civic responsibility ever came up in Facebook's internal conversations, I can see no evidence of it.

The people at Facebook live in their own bubble. Zuck has always believed that connecting everyone on earth was a mission so important that it justified any action necessary to accomplish it. Convinced of the nobility of their mission, Zuck and his employees seem to listen to criticism without changing their behavior. They respond to nearly every problem with the same approach that created the problem in the first place: more AI, more code, more short-term fixes. They do not do this because they are bad people. They do this because success has warped their perception of reality. They cannot imagine that the recent problems could be in any way linked to their designs or business decisions. It would never occur to them to listen to critics—How many billion people have the critics connected?—much less to reconsider the way they do business. As a result, when confronted with evidence that disinformation and fake news had spread over Facebook and may have influenced a British referendum or an election in the U.S., Facebook followed a playbook it had run since its founding: deny, delay, deflect, dissemble. Facebook only came clean when forced to, and revealed as little information as possible. Then it went to Plan B: apologize, and promise to do better.

They cannot imagine that the recent problems could be in any way linked to their designs or business decisions

Thanks to Facebook's extraordinary success, Zuck's brand in the tech world combines elements of rock star and cult leader. He is deeply committed to products and not as interested in the rest of the business, which he leaves to Sandberg. According to multiple reports, Zuck is known for micromanaging products and for being decisive. He is the undisputed boss. Zuck's subordinates study him and have evolved techniques for influencing him. Sheryl Sandberg is brilliant, ambitious and supremely well organized. Given Zuck's status as the founder, the team at Facebook rarely, if ever, challenged him on the way up and did not do so when bad times arrived. (A Facebook spokesperson replies: "People disagree with Mark all the time.")

You would think that Facebook's users would be outraged by the way the platform has been used

to undermine democracy, human rights, privacy, public health and innovation. Some are, but nearly 1.5 billion people use Facebook every day. They use it to stay in touch with distant relatives and friends. They like to share their photos and their thoughts. They do not want to believe that the same platform that has become a powerful habit is also responsible for so much harm. Facebook has leveraged our trust of family and friends to build one of the most valuable businesses in the world, but in the process, it has been careless with user data and aggravated the flaws in our democracy while leaving citizens ever less capable of thinking for themselves, knowing whom to trust or acting in their own interest. Bad actors have had a field day exploiting Facebook and Google, leveraging user trust to spread disinformation and hate speech, to suppress voting and to polarize citizens in many countries. They will continue to do so until we, in our role as citizens, reclaim our right to self-determination.

We need to begin to reform Facebook and Big Tech in these key areas:

DEMOCRACY

Democracy depends on shared facts and values. It depends on deliberation and the rule of law. It depends on having a free press and other countervailing forces to hold the powerful accountable. Facebook (along with Google and Twitter) has undercut the free press from two directions: it has eroded the economics of journalism and then overwhelmed it with disinformation. On Facebook, information and disinformation look the same; the only difference is that disinformation generates more revenue, so it gets better treatment. To Facebook, facts are not an absolute; they are a choice to be left initially to users and their friends but then magnified by algorithms to promote engagement. In the same vein, Facebook's algorithms promote extreme messages over neutral ones, which can elevate disinformation over information, conspiracy theories over facts. Like-minded people can share their views, but they can also block out any fact or perspective with which they disagree.

At Facebook's scale—or Google's—there is no way to avoid influencing the lives of users and the future of nations. Recent history suggests that the threat to democracy is real. The efforts to date by Facebook, Google and Twitter to protect future elections may be sincere, but there is no reason to think they will do anything more than start a game of whack-a-mole with those who choose to interfere. Only fundamental changes to business models can reduce the risk to democracy. Facebook remains a threat to the powerless around the world.

To Facebook, facts are not an absolute; they are a choice

The company's Free Basics service has brought Internet service to poor people in roughly 60 countries, but at the cost of massive social disruption. Lack of language skills and cultural insensitivity have blinded Facebook to the ways in which its platform can be used to harm defenseless minorities. This has already played out with deadly outcomes in Sri Lanka and Myanmar.

PRIVACY

Facebook remains a threat to privacy. The company's commitment to surveillance would make an intelligence agency proud, but not so its handling of data. There need to be versions of Facebook News Feed and all search results that are free of manipulation. Users need to own their data and have absolute control over how it gets used. Users have a right to know the name of every organization and person who has their data. This would apply not just to the platforms but also to cellular carriers and the third parties that gain access to user data. Another important regulatory opportunity is data portability, such that users can move everything of value from one platform to another.

ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN W. TOMAC FOR TIME

This would help enable startups to overcome an otherwise insurmountable barrier to adoption. Platforms should also be transparent to users, advertisers and regulators.

CONTROL YOUR DATA

Users should always own all their own data and metadata—and they should be compensated much better for it. No one should be able to use a user's data in any way without explicit, prior consent. Third-party audits of algorithms, comparable to what exists now for financial statements, would create the transparency necessary to limit undesirable consequences. There should be limits on what kind of data can be collected, such that users can limit data collection or choose privacy. This needs to be done immediately, before new products like Alexa and Google Home reach mass adoption. Smart home devices are currently an untamed frontier of data, with the potential for massive abuse. Lastly, I would like to prevent deployment of advanced technologies like artificial intelligence and automated bots without proof that they serve humans rather than exploit them. This could be accomplished through an equivalent to the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for technology.

Google and Facebook are artificially profitable because they do not pay for the damage they cause

REGULATE

If I consider Google, Amazon and Facebook purely in investment terms, I cannot help but be impressed by the brilliant way they have executed their business plans. The problem is unintended consequences, which are more numerous and severe than we can afford. Google and Facebook are artificially profitable because they do not pay for the damage they cause.

The U.S. economy has historically depended on startups far more than other economies, especially in technology. If my hypothesis is correct, the country has begun a risky experiment in depending on monopolists for innovation, economic growth and job creation.

Google, Amazon and Facebook have followed the monopolist's playbook and built "no go" zones around their core operations. Their success has raised the bar for startups, narrowing the opportunities for outsize success and forcing entrepreneurs to sell out early or pursue opportunities with less potential. They have built additional walls through the acquisition of startups that might have posed a competitive threat. These companies do not need to choke off startup activities to be successful, but they cannot help themselves. That is what monopolists do.

In terms of economic policy, I want to set limits on the markets in which monopoly-class players like Facebook, Google and Amazon can operate. The economy would benefit from breaking them up. A first step would be to prevent acquisitions, as well as cross subsidies and data sharing among products within each platform. I favor regulation as a way to reduce harmful behavior. The most effective regulations will force changes in business models.

Relative to today's standards, these recommendations sound extreme, but there may be no other way to protect children, adults, democracy and the economy. Our parents and grandparents had a similar day of reckoning with tobacco. Now it's our turn, this time with Internet platforms.

MAKE IT HUMAN

From a technology perspective, the most promising path forward is through innovation, something over which the platforms have too much influence

today. Antitrust enforcement can create space for innovation, but we need more. I propose that Silicon Valley embrace human-driven technology as the Next Big Thing. In America, if you want to solve a problem, it helps to incorporate the profit motive, which we can do by shifting the focus of technology from exploiting the weakest links in human psychology to a commitment to empowering users.

What would human-driven technology look like? It would empower users rather than exploit them. Human-driven social networks would enable sharing with friends, but without massive surveillance, filter bubbles and data insecurity. In exchange for adopting a benign business model, perhaps based on subscriptions, startups would receive protection from the giants. Given that social media is practically a public utility, I think it is worth considering more aggressive strategies, including government subsidies. The government already subsidizes energy exploration, agriculture and other economic activities that the country considers to be a priority, and it is not crazy to imagine that civically responsible social media may be essential to the future of the country. The subsidies might come in the form of research funding, capital for startups, tax breaks and the like.

The Next Big Thing offers opportunities to rethink the architecture of the Internet. For example, I would like to address privacy with a new model of authentication for website access that permits websites to gather only the minimum amount of data required for each transaction. It would work like a password manager, but with a couple of important distinctions: it would go beyond storing passwords to performing log-ins, and it would store private data on the device, not in the cloud. Apple has embraced this model, offering its customers valuable privacy and security advantages over Android.

ADDICTION

All the public-health threats of Internet platforms derive from design choices. Technology has the power to persuade, and the financial incentives of advertising business models guarantee that persuasion will always be the default goal of every design. Every pixel on every screen of every Internet app has been tuned to influence users' behavior. Not every user can be influenced all the time, but nearly all users can be influenced some of the time. In the most extreme cases, users develop behavioral addictions that can lower their quality of life and that of family members, co-workers and close friends. We don't know the prevalence of behavioral addictions to the Internet, but anecdotally they seem widespread. Millions of people check their phone first thing in the morning. For most, the big question is whether they do so before they pee or while they are peeing. Far too many people report difficulty sleeping because they cannot stop using their phone or tablet. It is possible that most of Facebook's daily users have some level of behavioral addiction. The problem with addiction is that it deprives the victim of agency. Even when an addict understands the potential for harm, he or she cannot help but continue the activity. To change that will require more than regulation. It will require an investment in research and public-health services to counter Internet addiction.

It is not crazy to imagine that civically responsible social media may be essential to the future of democracy

PROTECT CHILDREN

A growing percentage of children prefer the hyperstimulation of virtual experiences to the real world. Products like Instagram empower bullies. Texting has replaced conversation for many kids. It's hard to know how this will turn out, but some medical researchers have raised alarms, noting that we have allowed unsupervised psychological experiments on millions of people. Medical research bolsters the case for regulation. In addition to limits on the ages at which children may use screens like smartphones and tablets, there is evidence that phones and computers can cause distraction in classrooms.

THE HARM TO PUBLIC HEALTH, democracy, privacy and competition caused by Facebook and other platforms results from their business models, which must be changed. As users, we have more power to force change than we realize. We can alter our behavior. We can create a political movement. We can insist on government intervention to promote human-driven technology as an alternative to extractive technology. At the same time, the government must take steps to repair the damage from Internet platforms. We need to rebuild institutions, find common ground with those with whom we disagree, and start acting like one country again. The political and social power of Facebook and the other Internet platforms is unhealthy and inappropriate in a democracy like ours. We must hold them accountable and insist on real-world solutions, not more code.

Editor's note: Invited to respond, Facebook pointed to a 2018 post by Sheryl Sandberg detailing the company's efforts on user privacy, democracy, security and other issues. It can be found at time.com/sandberg-response

VIEWPOINT

IT'S TIME FOR ACTION ON PRIVACY

WE ALL DESERVE CONTROL OVER OUR DIGITAL LIVES

BY TIM COOK

IN 2019, IT'S TIME TO STAND UP FOR THE RIGHT TO privacy—yours, mine, all of ours. Consumers shouldn't have to tolerate another year of companies irresponsibly amassing huge user profiles, data breaches that seem out of control and the vanishing ability to control our own digital lives.

This problem is solvable—it isn't too big, too challenging or too late. Innovation, breakthrough ideas and great features can go hand in hand with user privacy—and they must. Realizing technology's potential depends on it.

That's why I and others are calling on the U.S. Congress to pass comprehensive federal privacy legislation—a landmark package of reforms that protect and empower the consumer. Last year, before a global body of privacy regulators, I laid out four principles that I believe should guide legislation:

First, the right to have personal data minimized. Companies should challenge themselves to strip identifying information from customer data or avoid collecting it in the first place. Second, the right to knowledge—to know what data is being collected and why. Third, the right to access. Companies should make it easy for you to access, correct and delete your personal data. And fourth, the right to data security, without which trust is impossible.

But laws alone aren't enough to ensure that individuals can make use of their privacy rights. We also need to give people tools that they can use to take action. To that end, here's an idea that could make a real difference.

One of the biggest challenges in protecting privacy is that many of the violations are invisible. For example, you might have bought a product from an online retailer—something most of us have done. But what the retailer doesn't tell you is that it then turned around and sold or transferred information about your purchase to a "data broker"—a company that exists purely to collect your information, package it and sell it to yet another buyer.

The trail disappears before you even know there is a trail. Right now, all of these secondary markets for your information exist in a shadow economy that's largely unchecked—out of sight of consumers, regulators and lawmakers.

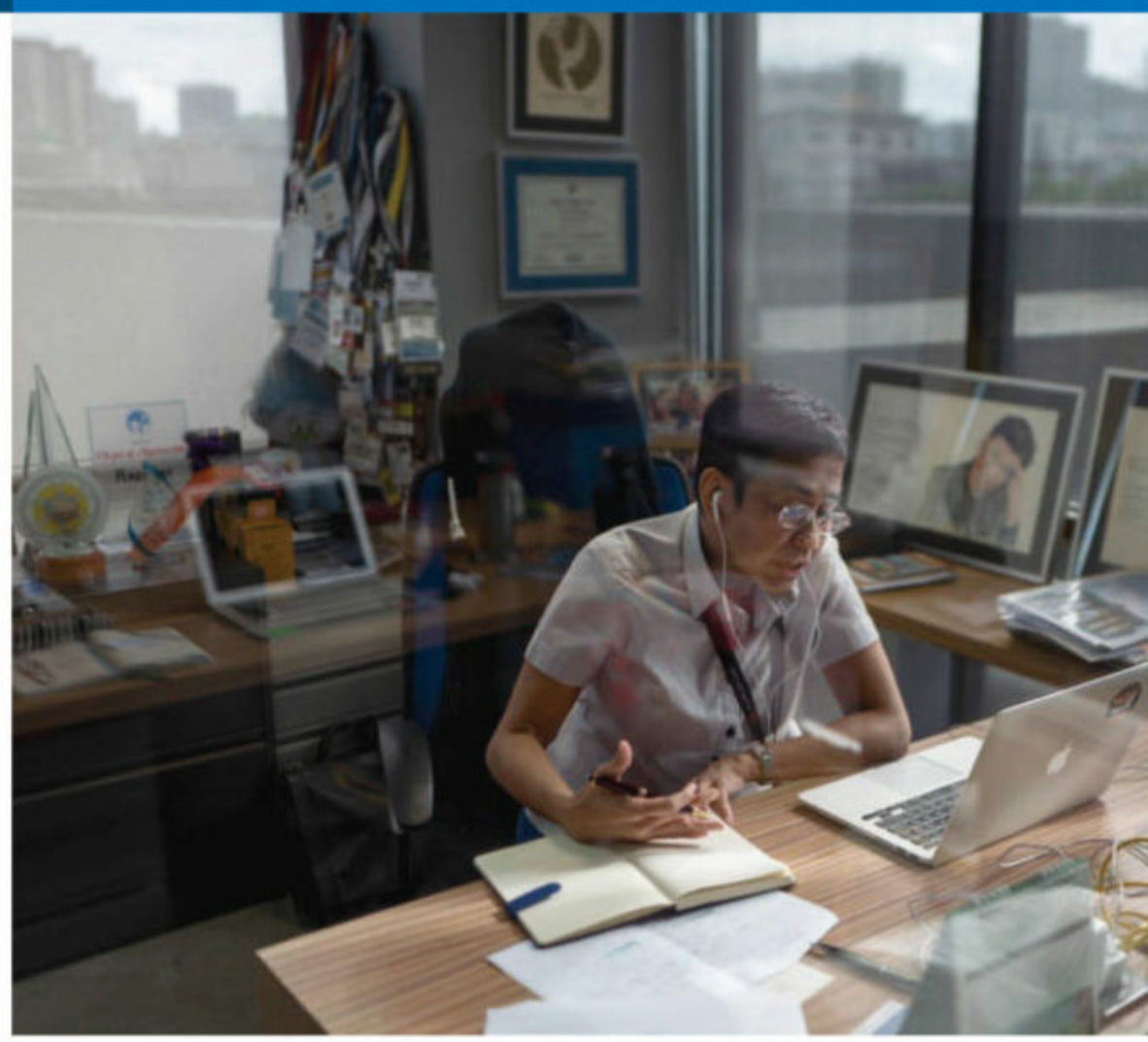
Let's be clear: you never signed up for that. We think every user should have the chance to say, "Wait a minute. That's my information that you're selling, and I didn't consent."

Federal privacy legislation should not only aim to put consumers in control of their data, it should also shine a light on actors trafficking in your data

Meaningful, comprehensive federal privacy legislation should not only aim to put consumers in control of their data, it should also shine a light on actors trafficking in your data behind the scenes. Some state laws are looking to accomplish just that, but right now there is no federal standard protecting Americans from these practices. That's why we believe the Federal Trade Commission should establish a data-broker clearinghouse, requiring all data brokers to register, enabling consumers to track the transactions that have bundled and sold their data from place to place, and giving users the power to delete their data on demand, freely, easily and online, once and for all.

As this debate kicks off, there will be plenty of proposals and competing interests for policymakers to consider. We cannot lose sight of the most important constituency: individuals trying to win back their right to privacy. Technology has the potential to keep changing the world for the better, but it will never achieve that potential without the full faith and confidence of the people who use it. ◻

Cook is CEO of Apple



FIRST PERSON

FACEBOOK LET MY GOVERNMENT TARGET ME BUT THE SOCIAL-MEDIA GIANT COULD YET FULFILL ITS ORIGINAL PROMISE

BY MARIA RESSA

MY REPUTATION AND PEACE OF MIND WERE demolished by information operations on Facebook. It's a cautionary tale for the U.S.

I run Rappler, an online news site in the Philippines. In my country, Facebook essentially is the Internet, thanks to subsidies from telecommunications companies that let people avoid data charges while on the site. But it has also made the Philippines a showcase for the destruction Facebook can enable.

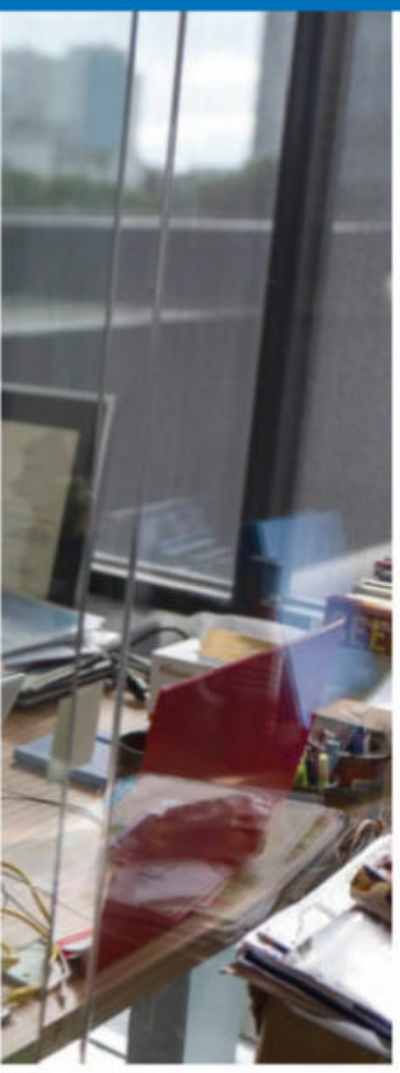
The attacks against me and Rappler began appearing on Facebook in the summer of 2016. A year later President Rodrigo Duterte was repeating them in his State of the Nation address. I have since been indicted on politically motivated criminal charges, faced my first arrest warrant and posted bail. Not just once, but five times in two separate courts. I need permission to travel outside the Philippines.

If I lose these tax-evasion cases and others filed by the Philippine government, I could go to jail for 10 to 15 years.

All because I and Rappler, the startup I helped create, seven years old this month, continue to hold power to account, to do our jobs as journalists and to #HoldTheLine against impunity in a drug war that has killed tens of thousands of people, according to human-rights groups.

We know firsthand how social media and the law have been weaponized against perceived critics

The four hours an average Filipino social-media user spends on such sites is about twice the U.S. average



The writer in her office at Rappler in Manila

JES AZNAR—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX

of the Duterte administration. We've been reporting on it from the start.

In early October 2016, Rappler published a three-part series on social-media propaganda. It analyzed the emerging information ecosystem using what researchers later called "patriotic trolling"—online, state-sponsored hate meant to silence or intimidate specific targets. After the exposé, I received an average of 90 hate messages per hour for the next month.

The attacks on Facebook are insidious and extremely personal, from the way I look and sound to threats of rape and murder. As a former war-zone correspondent, I have been in the line of fire, but nothing prepared me for this.

After all, a lie repeated a million times becomes the truth, shaping and conditioning public opinion, seeding the messages that would be repeated by Duterte himself: that Rappler is CIA, fake news, owned by Americans, many more. It hits me every time I look back because these lies form the basis of some of the legal cases against us. This is our daily pressure cooker: attacked from below by cheap armies on social media, and from above by Duterte and the government.

The effort was extremely well organized. Each of the government propaganda machine's three main content creators addressed a different slice of society: Sass Rogando Sasot created pseudo-intellectual content for the top 1%, Thinking Pinoy (RJ Nieto) targeted the middle class, and singer-dancer turned government official now congressional candidate Mocha Uson riled up the mass base.

As early as 2016, an #UnfollowRappler campaign activated at least 52,000 accounts to unfollow our site on Facebook. That was about 1% of our followers at that time—but consider that an earlier investigation showed us that 26 fake accounts on Facebook could reach up to 3 million others. What mayhem could more than 50,000 Facebook accounts create?

They could reverse perceptions, splitting the real world from the social-media world.

We saw it happen. In January 2018, Pew's Global Attitudes survey found that 86% of Filipinos out in the physical world said they trusted traditional news media. When the same question about traditional news outlets was asked the same month on social media, the answer was the opposite—83% distrusted them, according to the Philippine Trust Index.

The world's largest distributor of news, Facebook refuses to act as a true gatekeeper, allowing lies to spread faster than truth. Yet Rappler's exponential growth would not have happened without it

It happened from systematic and exponentially growing attacks on traditional media, which clearly escalated after Duterte took office in June 2016. In the year before the election campaign, the language Duterte used to attack the media—*bias* and *corrupt*—barely registered in Facebook comments or posts. Afterward, *bias* came up 2,000 times a day, and *corrupt* one day approached 4,000.

The attacks pounded fracture lines in society repeatedly until perception was made reality. They acted to fuel anger and hate to tear down trust in truth tellers—journalists and human-rights advocates; to maintain high approval ratings for Duterte; and to change the values of a significant chunk of our society who now say it's O.K. to kill drug users or to let China have portions of Philippine territory in the South China Sea (West Philippine Sea). The attacks wage war on opposition politicians, manipulate the Filipino public and weaken our democracy.

Rappler knows the best and the worst of what Facebook can do. The world's largest disseminator of news, it refuses to act as a true gatekeeper, allowing lies to spread faster than truth. For that, I'm among Facebook's worst critics.

Yet Rappler's exponential growth would not have happened without the social-media giant. I know its immense potential for good. That is why we continue to work with Facebook, as one of three fact-checking partners in our country, defining facts and looking at networks that spread lies.

I don't think we have a choice. This is transformative technology, and we can use it to push Facebook to understand its true impact—good and evil—in the world. I'm cautiously optimistic that the good can prevail. On Jan. 11, in its second takedown of "inauthentic" sites and accounts in the Philippines, Facebook banned a significant chunk of the disinformation ecosystem that had been manipulating Filipinos with a link to the Internet Research Agency and the Russian disinformation ecosystem.

Rappler had identified the network, and written about it, nearly 13 months earlier.

Ressa is chief executive officer and co-founder of Rappler, an online news site in the Philippines. She was among the journalists named TIME's 2018 Person of the Year.

FORUM

BE AFRAID, VERY AFRAID WHAT THE TECH WORLD SHOULD FEAR NEXT

BY LAURIE SEGALL

TECHIES PRIDE THEMSELVES ON THEIR optimism. It couldn't be any other way. After all, Silicon Valley was built on the idea that technology is a force for good. In the nearly nine years I've spent covering tech, we've watched these dreamers and idealists transform society. Underlying it all is the notion that information wants to be free, that the more we share, the better off we are. That was the deal we made with companies that promised to connect the world.

Things haven't quite worked out that way.

Given all the bad news that's come out of the Valley, it's worth taking a moment to marvel at the profound changes we've seen in just a generation. Apple made the smartphone ubiquitous. Facebook connected over 2 billion people. Google put the answer to almost any question just a few keystrokes away. Companies like Amazon, Netflix and Uber upended entire industries and made themselves indispensable to many.

But these changes brought unintended consequences. We've seen hackers steal our data and identities. We've witnessed the weaponization of social media to influence elections and sow discord. There are mounting fears about the impact of artificial intelligence and facial recognition.

Things may get worse before they get better as we grapple with this era of unintended consequences. Even as innovation races ahead at an ever faster pace, ethicists and futurists are asking profound questions about where we're headed. What will it mean to be human as technology becomes an extension of us? How will the ubiquitous systems shape our children's growth and capacity to love?

The good news is that some in Silicon Valley are joining academics, policymakers and consumers in pondering these essential questions. The sooner we start participating in a conversation about the bad, the better chance we have at coding a future that's good. It'll take a diverse group of people to help solve what's coming beyond today's techlash. Everyone must ask: Where should we draw boundaries? What are the next set of problems we should anticipate? Here I asked a few key thinkers about the challenges ahead.

Segall is senior technology correspondent for CNN Business. Her special report "Facebook at 15: It's Complicated" will debut on the network in February in conjunction with the 15th anniversary of Facebook's launch

FACIAL RECOGNITION

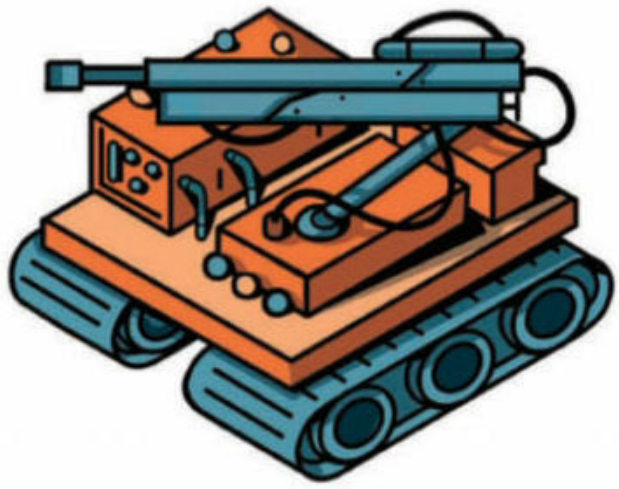
This powerful technology is already creating new and important benefits for people around the world, but we must be clear-eyed about its risks. So far, the technology is outpacing the ability of governments to keep up. Governments must adopt new laws to protect against discrimination, threats to privacy and the potential impact on democratic rights. We need a future that doesn't force companies to choose between social responsibility and business success.

BRAD SMITH, *Microsoft president*

NEURAL INEQUALITY

Up to now we have experienced inequality in areas such as finances and opportunity. Neural inequality could be next. This would mean that some people would be able to enhance their thinking with a chip implanted in the brain, making themselves disproportionately smarter than the average. There could also be the risk of thought manipulation. With neuroscientists getting better at accessing brains and altering thinking, we are reaching a world where we could also change your mind. It's a scary idea that someone could "write" into our mind, create thoughts and ideas in our own brain that we won't be able to distinguish from ones that we generated ourselves. Would there even be any difference?

MORAN CERF, *neuroscientist and business professor, Northwestern University*



PROTECTING KIDS

Every aspect of human development, health and well-being depends on our ability to navigate and form loving social relationships. Several recent studies, however, suggest that adults are compromising those relationships when they divert their attention from their infants to their cell phones. In one, infants were more negative and less exploratory when parents picked up their phones. Society's 12-year unintended experiment since the iPhone was introduced may be the culprit for tweens who are less socially attuned and for the 74% of pre-K-to-8 principals who lamented that their biggest concern was the stark increase in children who suffer from emotional problems. Our digital habits might be getting in the way of our interpersonal relationships.

KATHY HIRSH-PASEK, *Ph.D., Temple*
JOSHUA SPARROW, *M.D., Harvard*

HOSPITAL SAFETY

I launched a volunteer hacker collective to save lives through security research. We've had a profound impact on hospital safety—most notably with changes to FDA guidance and to medical devices. But risks remain. So now, I've started killing patients. Not literally, of course, but in hacking simulations with physicians, we are able to shut down vital medical equipment, destroy necessary patient data and create enough havoc—like delays in time-sensitive treatments—so that patients would die if this were real. We're doing this to catalyze medical reform before there is real patient harm. Doctors implicitly trust technology, but there is a cost to connectivity. Hospitals need to conduct similar exercises and adapt to these emerging risks.

JOSHUA CORMAN, *cybersecurity strategist*

NATIONAL SECURITY

Will American technology companies work to provide the U.S. and its allies with the best defense technology, or will they allow China and Russia to take the lead? If we don't do the job, others will have the power in the defense space to set ethical norms opposed to our fundamental values.

PALMER LUCKEY, *founder of Anduril, a defense company*

EVERYDAY ETHICS

What good was law when rogue Chinese scientist He Jiankui claims to have edited the DNA of twin girls? Innovation-friendly tech regulation is critical but often ineffective. Ethics requires thinking first and acting second. Ethics should be a habit of decision and commitment, driving every choice at all levels of an organization.

SUSAN LIAUTAUD, *lecturer on ethics at Stanford University and ethics consultant*

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JACKIE FERRENTINO FOR TIME

VIEWPOINT

RESTORING DIGNITY TO TECHNOLOGY

HOW TO DESIGN TOOLS TO SET RIGHT WHAT HAS GONE WRONG ONLINE

BY ELI PARISER

WHAT BROKE THE INTERNET? WAS IT the business model, the tech bros' myopia, Russian infiltrators, millennials? Lately commentators have heaved a world-weary sigh and pointed at a more existential culprit: human nature. That sounds like a compelling, intuitive answer—after all, people online do lots of awful and ugly stuff. As a diagnosis, though, it's dangerously superficial and lets tech companies off easy. The worst qualities of online space aren't inevitable: they're a natural result of a lack of human dignity.

Dignity—literally "worthy" in Latin—matters because it's an idea that we've returned to again and again over the centuries as a way of understanding how humans can live together decently, respectfully. But it's been absent from our recent conversations about technological ills. This history puts in a new light what's gone wrong online—and suggests how we might set it right.

Consider the relationship between dignity and conflict described by Donna Hicks, a Harvard conflict-resolution expert who has worked on the conflicts between Israelis and Palestinians and in Northern Ireland and Colombia. Over decades in the field, Hicks saw a repeating pattern: conflicts came about when people felt they were being disrespected and treated as worthless. "We long to look good in the eyes of others, to feel good about ourselves, to be worthy of others' care and attention," Hicks writes. When people are treated as if we don't matter or aren't due respect, we become vindictive, tribalistic and vengeful.

In Hicks' model, to be treated with dignity is to be seen and accepted for who we are, to be treated fairly and given the benefit of the doubt and to be offered independence and accountability. Online spaces fail us on these fronts. We're encouraged to be something other than what we are. We struggle to be heard and seen. If "love is attention," as Hicks wrote in her book *Dignity,* platforms intrude on these relationships, determining who and what gets attended to, on a mass scale, for the sake of ad clicks. To be online, in other words, is to be in a state of chronic, near constant dignity violation.

For the Enlightenment philosophers like Kant who popularized the current meaning of the term, dignity also requires that we treat human beings as ends rather than as means to an end. Online platforms like Twitter, YouTube and Facebook threaten our dignity in this sense. Growth hacking and gamification—pursuits at the core of most consumer-facing startups—are about nothing if not treating people instrumentally, as means to the end of growing active usership and revenue per user.

WE HAVE ALWAYS RELIED on tools to extend human capacity. Cooking with fire allowed us to create "external stomachs," in the words of Kevin Kelly, a co-founder of *Wired,* that gave us better nutrition and allowed us to survive in new environments. Increasingly, the tools we use have turned on us. And social technologies don't just treat us instrumentally—they encourage us to look at one another that way as well, as a means to higher status or a better job or a measurement of self-worth.

Some of this may be inevitable in a capitalist system, but not all technologies are undignified. Consider video-

ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN W. TOMAC FOR TIME

chat tools like FaceTime, expressive ones like Illustrator, or screen readers that allow blind folks to participate in online conversation. None of these technologies is perfect. But there are some common threads: a focus on user empowerment and a genuine respect for his or her desires rather than manipulation—a prioritization of open-ended exploration over tight feedback loops and optimization.

There are emerging examples of technologies that support us in overcoming our impulses to make moral choices. The moral psychologist Jonathan Haidt and his collaborators Caroline Mehl and Raffi Grinberg have developed an online education platform, OpenMind, which walks people through the cognitive biases that tend to distort our view of other people's positions. According to their data, months after taking the curriculum, people are less likely to be dismissive of ideas simply because they come from political opponents. A more dignified tech approach is even catching on in Silicon Valley. Philosopher Joe Edelman runs a class in values-driven design, which has been embraced by high-ranking designers at Facebook and Apple, among other companies.

Over our history, we've found ways to create tools and spaces that call out and amplify the best parts of human nature. That's the great story of civilization—the development of technologies like written language that have moderated our animal impulses. What we need now is a new technological enlightenment—a turn from our behaviorally optimized dark age to an era of online spaces that embrace what makes us truly human. We need online spaces that treat us as the unique, moral beings we are—that treat us, and encourage us to treat one another, with care, respect and dignity.

Pariser, who coined the phrase filter bubble *in his book of the same name, is a fellow at the New America Foundation*

VIEWPOINT

FACEBOOK WILL THRIVE

I WOULD BET ON ITS EFFORTS TO FIX MISTAKES

BY DONALD GRAHAM

I WAS PUBLISHER OF THE WASHINGTON *Post* for 21 years. There were many great days and no question about what was the worst.

In 1981, a reporter named Janet Cooke won a Pulitzer Prize for a story about an 8-year-old heroin addict.

The afternoon after the Pulitzer announcement, Ben Bradlee, the editor of the *Post,* received a call from the president of Vassar College. Cooke had claimed on her résumé that she was a Vassar graduate, and we had said so in a release about her Pulitzer Prize. Her claim was false. So were other things on her résumé—and so was her news story.

The *Post* got and deserved tons of criticism. One piece of it I still remember. A man who had been a reporter and editor on the paper for more than a decade had profited greatly from the *Post*'s acclaim for its Watergate and Pentagon Papers reporting. He had basked in it and been quoted in many stories about Bradlee. He had recently been appointed editor of another paper. And there, he wrote a column bitterly criticizing the *Post* and Bradlee for its ethics and judgment—all of which he'd been part of without a word of protest (not at least to me, the one person who could have done something about it).

When I see institutions I love criticized, and I love the people at Facebook, I look first to critics who were tough when everyone was full of praise for the company. (For example, Anne Applebaum understood very early on what Vladimir Putin was up to with interference in Poland and elsewhere.) Facebook couldn't be less popular now, and its critics joining the attack have all the courage of the last man leaping on the pile at a football game. While I disagree with Roger McNamee's approach, he is a smart guy and knows far more about technology than I do.

Facebook has made plenty of mistakes since its inception. As was true at the Washington *Post* in 1981, it has to set about fixing them in the only possible way: accept the responsibility—all of it. Return to your basic mission and do it right. Provide a great service for people; protect every aspect of your users' privacy; be honest about what went wrong; and be clear (with governments but above all with users) about what you are doing to fix the problems.

I admire Mark Zuckerberg, Sheryl Sandberg and the people I knew at Facebook more than I can tell you. I'm not an insider any more since leaving the company's board in 2015, but I can see on my Facebook page the extent of their efforts to fix what has been wrong. I would bet on them and would guess that their own efforts will be more important than those of any government or regulatory body. Regulation will slow technology companies down rather than change them as their critics hope. The beneficiaries will be their Chinese competitors—not exactly paragons of respect for your privacy. It is hard to see what form of regulation can control speech on Facebook but not control TIME's—or yours.

Listen to the critics, but listen most carefully to those who spoke up when the sun was shining.

Graham, the chairman of the board of Graham Holdings Company, was the publisher of the Washington Post *from 1979 to 2000 and a board member of Facebook from 2009 to 2015*

The Survivor

Windie Jo Lazenko's fight to save victims of sex trafficking ***By Aryn Baker/Williston, N.D.***

Photographs by Lynsey Addario for TIME

Lazenko began working with victims in North Dakota after the oil boom drove a surge in trafficking

"THIS IS WHERE WE FOUND THAT LITtle gal in the snow with nothing on but a T-shirt. Her head had been bashed in by her pimp." Our headlights rake a desolate embankment on the fringes of Williston, N.D., as Windie Jo Lazenko does a three-point turn and continues her grim tour. Gas flares illuminate the pump jacks in the distance. Just up the road, she says, is where a woman was imprisoned in an RV for several months by a gang of drug dealers. We pass Love's truck stop, where in 2017 a 19-year-old escaped from a big-rig cab where she'd been held captive. Then we pull into the parking lot of the Grand Williston Hotel, once notorious for the broken lock on its back door that allowed johns to come and go unnoticed by front-desk personnel. "This is where Jae"—a 17-year-old high school student who found herself in prostitution against her will—"was forced to meet her pimp's quota of $2,000 a night," says Lazenko, 50, a social worker and survivor of sex trafficking who has spent the past decade campaigning against sexual exploitation and advocating for victims across the U.S. She tests the back door. It still opens.

From 2009 to 2015, when oil prices skyrocketed and technological advances in hydraulic fracturing brought an unprecedented boom to the oil fields of North Dakota, Jae, now 23, could have hit her quota with three tricks. Tens of thousands of workers flooded sleepy towns, seeking entry-level jobs that paid six figures. The influx of cash-flush men brought a huge demand for prostitutes. At one point, Williston and the surrounding area had the highest gender imbalance in the U.S., ranging from 10 to 20 men for every woman, according to city officials. Women couldn't walk into Walmart without being propositioned, Lazenko recalls. "It was an infestation."

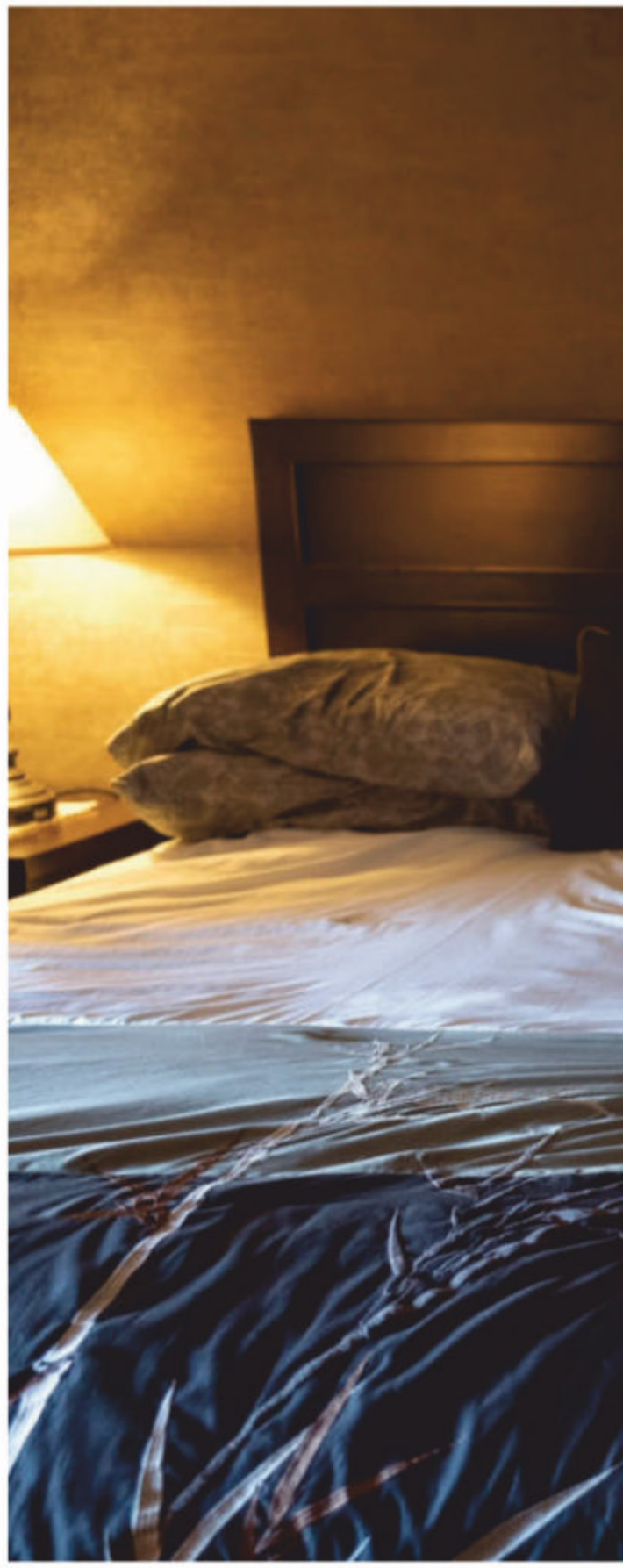
Sex trafficking, according to the U.S. Department of Justice, occurs when a person performs a commercial sex act through force, fraud or coercion. For under-18-year-olds, it is any kind of commercial sex act. While sometimes perpetrators and their victims cross borders, sex trafficking, including activities like pimping, does not necessarily involve transport. And it is a $99 billion annual industry that has ensnared an estimated 4.8 million people around the world, mostly women and children, according to a 2014 report from the International Labour Organization, a U.N. agency. While much of the criminal activity is international, the U.S. has its own sex-trafficking problem, with more than 32,000 cases reported in the past decade, according to the National Human Trafficking Hotline, which is run by the antitrafficking organization Polaris. Since few Americans know how to identify signs of sex trafficking, and even fewer victims are likely to call for help, Polaris CEO Bradley Myles says that number represents only a small fraction of the epidemic's true size.

The lack of solid data makes it hard to craft an appropriate response, says Bethany Gilot, human-trafficking prevention director at the Florida department of children and families. "There's still tons of people who don't believe sex trafficking is an issue in the U.S.," she says, despite the fact that Florida alone verified 470 cases of child sex trafficking in 2017. Gilot compares sex trafficking today to domestic violence 30 years ago: people had to understand that it existed before anyone could talk about it as a problem. "People just don't want to know that this is happening in our own great nation."

In popular imagination, trafficked women tend to be foreigners brought into the U.S. against their will or undocumented immigrants living in fear of exposure. In fact, many are American-born women and girls. According to Department of Justice statistics from 2012, about a quarter of victims are white, a quarter Hispanic and 40% African American. Lazenko has worked with women across the racial spectrum—Latina, Asian, Native American and Hispanic. "These are girls from two-parent homes in the Midwest, girls from the inner city, girls from the reservation," says Lazenko, who has dyed black hair and kohl-rimmed eyes. "They are valedictorians, rebels and runaways."

Each case represents a life torn apart, lived under the threat of violence

Each case represents a life torn apart, lived under the threat of violence, without free will and defined by rape. Sex trafficking is a form of modern slavery that thrives largely because its victims are dismissed as society's castaways—hookers, addicts, the homeless—and because its signature act, prostitution, is often shrugged off as a victimless crime. "The worst thing you could ever do with a problem like this is pretend it doesn't happen, because it will fester and it will grow," says former Senator Heidi Heitkamp of North Dakota. "That's why it's



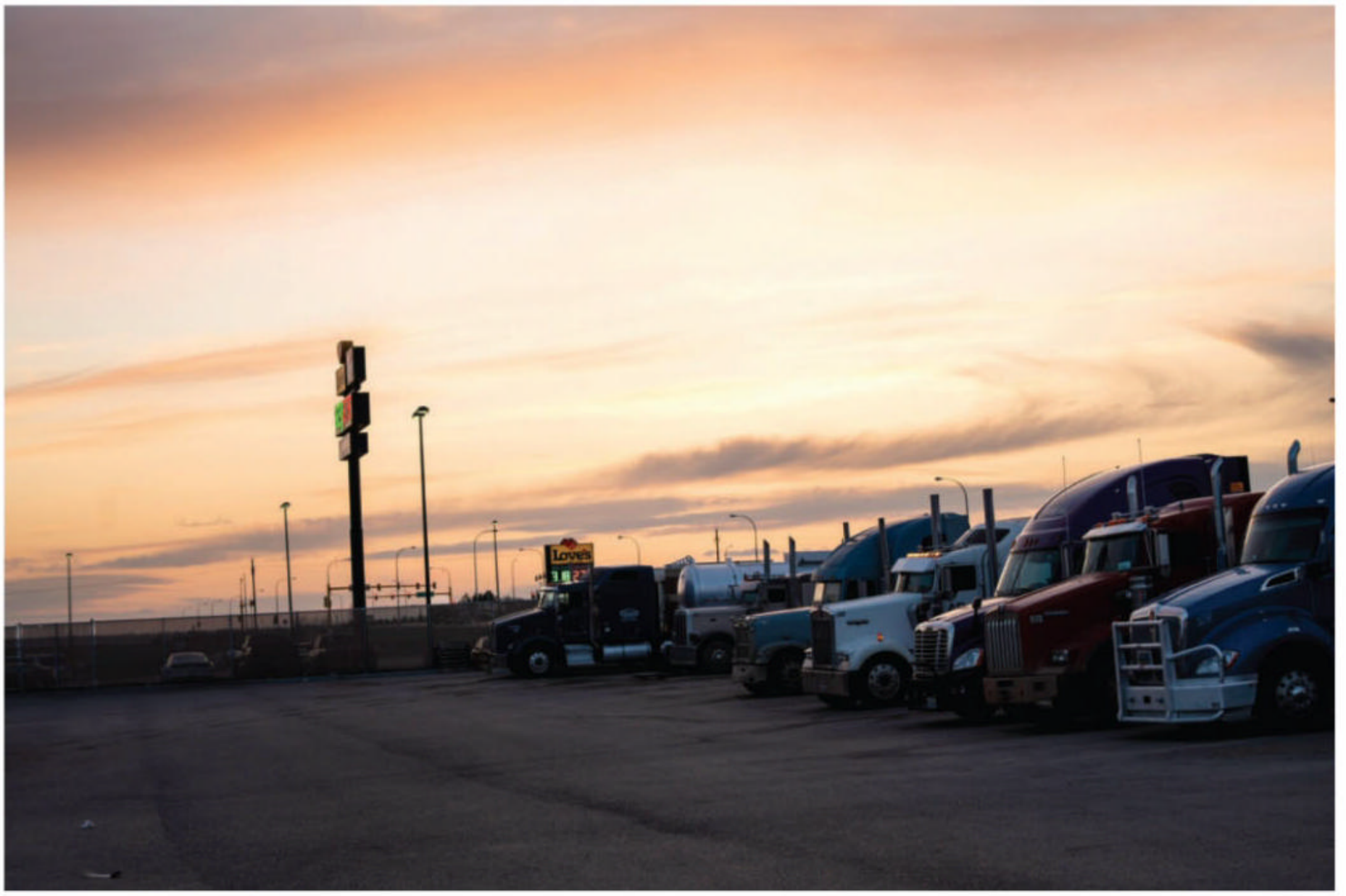
Sex-trafficking survivor Danielle Knoblauch holds a picture of her son at her home in North Dakota

important that we be honest about what's happening in our communities."

LAZENKO KNOWS the reality better than most. At 13, she fled what she describes as an abusive homelife in California for what seemed like the safety of a friendly couple she had met through a local motorcycle gang. (She asked TIME not to identify the gang for fear of retribution.) The couple sheltered her in exchange for small domestic chores that soon became sexual. When Lazenko was 16, they branded her with a tattoo that read PROPERTY OF and sent her to dance at a strip club. Nobody at the club questioned the presence of an underage girl, or the tattoo. Soon after, the couple started prostituting her to friends and fellow gang members. Lazenko, who had dropped out of school, was so bonded to the couple that she didn't realize what they were doing was wrong. "I was in search of a family, and they provided me with a sense of value, however messed up," she says. "I saw them as the people who had saved me, when they were actually the people who were victimizing me the worst."

By 1999, when the gang demanded that she start recruiting other girls, Lazenko realized that she didn't want anyone else going through what she had experienced. She ran away. "Even then I didn't realize that I was being trafficked," she says. "I had no understanding of what was happening to me."

After a period of reflection and recovery, Lazenko started working with anti-trafficking organizations in 2007, learning on the job how to minister to victims and campaign for awareness. In 2012 she was working for a support organization for sex-trafficking survivors in Florida when she started hearing strippers and sex workers talking about the money to be made in the Bakken oil fields of North



A truck stop in Williston, where Lazenko often searched for women who had gone missing

Dakota and Montana. Figuring that wherever there was a demand for prostitutes, pimps and traffickers were sure to follow, Lazenko drove to Williston on a reconnaissance mission.

The situation, she says, was "worse than horrific." Pimps had colonized the two local strip clubs and most of the hotels, but bartenders and front-desk managers had no idea what was going on. "They all thought the women were there by choice," says Lazenko. The only women's shelter in town was for domestic-abuse victims, and it wasn't equipped to deal with trafficking victims. Police investigators, Lazenko says, often ended up alienating and retraumatizing victims with insensitive questions about the number of johns they had slept with or why they never tried to get away.

Lazenko ended up staying in Williston to found 4her North Dakota, a one-woman organization dedicated to helping trafficking victims. She started buttonholing hotel managers, front-desk personnel, bartenders and baristas for impromptu training on how to spot signs of trafficking. She taught them to look out for girls in the company of controlling men who won't let them speak for themselves, women who don't have their own ID or other personal items, and those with ownership tattoos like her own or DADDY'S GIRL. She instructed them on what to do if they suspected someone was being sold for sex. And she gave presentations to the Williston police department about how to treat potential victims and went with federal investigators on raids.

Today Lazenko spends most of her time on the road, traveling between conferences on sex trafficking and conducting training sessions for cops and social-service organizations. She has testified before state lawmakers and served as an expert witness in sex-trafficking cases in Florida, Arizona, Montana and North Dakota. "We have to keep talking about sex trafficking," she says. "Otherwise it will stay a hidden epidemic." She is trying to do for trafficked women what she wishes someone had done for her back when she was 13—a challenge even more urgent now that traffickers can use the Internet to find potential victims.

Trafficking can start with something as simple as a flattering comment on Facebook

Trafficking can start with something as simple as a flattering comment on Facebook. "Internet Romeos" posing as cute boys can post messages on hundreds of different profiles every day, knowing that a young girl who responds to a stranger may have boundary issues that can be exploited, says Gilot, the Florida antitrafficking official. "That's what parents need to understand," she says. "You might not have traffickers walking around your neighborhood, but with a smartphone or a computer, you can have them right inside your house."

Romeos groom their targets over several months, building trust and chipping away at a prospective victim's other relationships. Often, a Romeo will persuade a girl to move with him to a new town. Eventually he'll engineer a traumatic event to "break" his victim.

Knoblauch gets a tattoo last April to symbolize her freedom

Then, when she feels she has nowhere else to turn, he forces her into prostitution.

That's what happened to Jae, a vivacious singer from outside New York City. In 2013 she followed her online boyfriend to Williston, where he told her she could double the salary she earned as a McDonald's cashier. When she got to North Dakota he started beating her, then forced her to have sex with his dealer in exchange for a couple of grams of methamphetamines. She was 17 at the time."Things just got out of control," she says. "I was a good girl from Long Island who made a few wrong decisions." She broke up with the boyfriend but turned to prostitution to make rent. She fell in with a pimp who offered her security in exchange for a portion of her earnings. When he started taking everything, she no longer felt safe enough to resist and started taking the drugs he supplied to numb the pain. (Jae is not her real name; it's the nickname she used when posting ads on Backpage.com, a popular online service for escort ads, to meet her pimp's nightly quota.)

Other women go into prostitution willingly, only to get trapped by a pimp. "I needed money," says Adale, who started stripping to pay for college in Utah. Then she met a boyfriend who abused her and stole her proceeds. "He broke me down mentally to the point I felt like a worthless piece of sh-t," she told Lazenko during one of their counseling sessions over Skype, which TIME witnessed. "When people call you a whore, you start to believe it." With Lazenko's help, Adale—who asked to be identified by her middle name—is pressing charges against her pimp. (The investigation is ongoing.)

Sometimes the perpetrator is the person closest to the victim. Danielle Knoblauch, a 41-year-old mother of three from Chicago, followed her husband to Dickinson, N.D., in 2012. Working in the oil field, he soon became addicted to meth, which is common among employees toiling through 18-hour days. He lost his job, then started selling drugs to feed his habit. When he was busted and sent to prison, his dealers wanted Knoblauch to pay off his $25,000 debt. She couldn't, so they took her instead, according to her caseworkers and a law-enforcement official. "People always say, 'That could never happen to me. I'm too smart. I wouldn't fall for that,'" Knoblauch says. "I thought the same thing."

Knoblauch, who has a wiry build and the nervous energy of someone who has lived through too many traumas, says she spent three years being traded for sex between motorcycle gangs, dealers and a Mexican cartel. She says she was forced to work as their mule, ferrying cash, guns, drugs and other girls between North Dakota, Colorado and Mexico. Most people cannot comprehend what it means to be trafficked, says Knoblauch, which contributes to a sense that victims are complicit in their captivity. "The first question is 'Well, why didn't you just run?' It's the dumbest question you can ask a survivor. Because believe me, they probably asked themselves that a million times."

Knoblauch stayed partly because of threats her captors made against her children. Traffickers use many tactics to destabilize their victims, from sleep deprivation to starvation, violence and drug addiction. They disorient victims by alternating demonstrations of love with violence or neglect. In psychology, this is called a trauma bond. The point is to take away any sense of free will. "All you know is what they tell you," says Knoblauch. "There is nowhere to turn. There is no one to cry to, no one to ask for help."

SEX TRAFFICKING is a moving epidemic. Traffickers in the U.S. follow a circuit that includes Washington, Miami, Atlanta, Houston and Las Vegas, says Gilot. Big annual sporting events like the Super Bowl or the Sturgis Motorcycle Rally are a draw, according to antitrafficking organizations. So are boomtowns. "If there is enough demand somewhere," says Gilot, "it will be added to the circuit for as long as the buyers stay in place." The Bakken oil boom was a case in point. When the price of oil goes high enough to justify new wells, industry workers and the traffickers that service them flock to the new El Dorados.

When oil prices surged in 2009, Williston's population doubled nearly overnight. Local law enforcement was overwhelmed. "At the beginning, I don't think anyone realized the extent of the [trafficking] problem," says Tim Purdon, North Dakota's U.S. Attorney from 2010 to 2015. "Two years later human trafficking was the biggest story in North Dakota." In 2013 Purdon's office oversaw a pair of stings aimed at johns targeting underage girls online. Within hours of launching Operation Vigilant Guardian, Purdon had to shut it down because cops were running out of places to put the johns.

Many in Williston have sought to downplay the issue, worried it will drive families away even several years later. That includes public officials. In an interview with TIME in April, in the lobby of a Williston hotel once notorious for attracting prostitutes and pimps, Mayor Howard Klug dismissed reports of sex trafficking in the city as "fake news."

North Dakota learned about trafficking the hard way, says Purdon, but now the state is up to speed. Lazenko isn't so sure. State services for victims are skeletal. Youthworks, the only nonprofit agency in North Dakota to offer services for human-trafficking victims, has one program officer for the entire western half of the state. It assisted 79 victims of sex trafficking in 2017, but budget cuts threaten its meager resources, says assistant executive director Christina Sambor.

Meanwhile, activists worry that rising oil prices will bring back traffickers. At a Williston hotel in April, Lazenko asks a manager if another oil boom is on the horizon. "Oh, it's coming all right," the manager replies. "You can tell because the prostitutes are already here."

NORTH DAKOTA'S STRUGGLES with sex trafficking reflect the broader challenges facing states across the country. Washington has made sporadic efforts to address trafficking on a national scale. In January 2017, Senator Heitkamp teamed up with Republican Senator Susan Collins of Maine to introduce legislation that would require training for hospital, emergency-room and clinic workers to recognize signs of trafficking. Congress was able to pass separate bipartisan legislation, which President Trump signed into law in April, that makes websites like Backpage.com liable for content that promotes sex trafficking. But sex trafficking remains one of the hardest crimes to crack down on, says Alice Hill, a former federal prosecutor and judge who joined the Obama Administration in 2009 to help found the national Blue Campaign against human trafficking. Victims are reluctant to come forward or face their abusers in court because of the stigma associated with prostitution and the threat of criminal charges. "That can be hard for a jury to understand," says Hill.

Which is why much of the work to assist victims is being done by survivors like Lazenko, who combine their personal experience with tailored therapy. For women who have gone through the trauma of trafficking, it can mean the

Lazenko with Jae, who was lured to Williston by an abusive boyfriend before turning to prostitution

difference between healing and suicide. Such was the case for Knoblauch. Facing charges of drug possession in North Dakota and desperate to free herself from her captors, she became an informant in 2016, providing evidence that led to the indictment of 13 high-ranking members of transnational organized crime, according to an agent with the North Dakota bureau of criminal investigations who worked on the case. Meanwhile, Knoblauch was starting to unravel, haunted by terrifying dreams and unable to go out in public without panic attacks. An investigator suspected she was suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder. In late 2017 he recommended she call Lazenko. "She's been through it too," he told her.

They talked for two hours. For Knoblauch it was a revelation. "Nobody understood what I'd been through," she says. "They thought I was crazy. They thought I was lying. They treated me as an addict and a whore." For the first time, she was able to tell her story without someone asking why she didn't run away.

Lazenko isn't trying to rescue women; she's trying to show them a way out. Often there are setbacks. In 2015, after months of effort, Lazenko was finally able to get Jae away from her pimp and into a GED program for former sex workers in New York City. But Jae felt out of place and condemned by her family. She returned to North Dakota and to prostitution. If Jae links up with another pimp, Lazenko is prepared to step in. Otherwise, she says, Jae must make her own decisions.

These days Lazenko is torn. She has alienated some North Dakotans with her vocal crusade but feels she still has work to do in the state. At the same time, she hears disturbing stories about sex trafficking in and around Odessa, Texas, where shale drilling in the Permian Basin is bringing plenty of potential customers. A law-enforcement sting there in March netted more than 60 arrests on sex-trafficking offenses, including nine men who were soliciting sex from children under the age of 14. In August, Lazenko went to Odessa to deliver a series of sex-trafficking awareness trainings. What's frustrating, she says, is that few states seem to have learned from North Dakota's mistakes, so many are failing to educate law enforcement and provide assistance for victims.

One afternoon in April, Knoblauch invited Lazenko over for a cigarette-fueled therapy session. Giving Lazenko a tour of her windowless basement apartment, Knoblauch paused at a leather trunk her boyfriend had given her for special keepsakes. Across the top he had inscribed her favorite motto, HOLD ON, PAIN ENDS, and used the initials to label it a H.O.P.E. chest. "That's the tattoo I am going to get when this is all over," mused Knoblauch. Lazenko wrapped her in a hug. "It's already over. Now the healing starts."

A few days later, the two booked an appointment at a tattoo studio. Knoblauch leaned over the back of a chair and brushed her hair out of the way as an artist stenciled H.O.P.E. onto her upper back. Knoblauch grimaced in pain as the needle passed over her spine. Lazenko squeezed her hands. "Don't worry, it's almost done."

Knoblauch cracked a smile. "You mean, Hold on, pain ends?"

Lazenko laughed. "You got it, girl. It ends." —*With reporting by* LYNSEY ADDARIO *and* PAXTON WINTERS/WILLISTON *and* MAYA RHODAN/WASHINGTON ☐

Challenging Times, Creative Efforts

The key themes of Chinese diplomacy in 2018 By Wang Huiyao

The world in the 21st century continues to be shaped by increasing multipolarity and cross-border flows of people, goods, capital and information. It is a world of greater openness, where the cast of characters is more numerous, complex and interconnected than ever before. It is also a world where technological progress and globalization are blurring boundaries and upending traditional assumptions. The rise of emerging markets and developing countries is reconfiguring balances of power, while the international order of the last half-century increasingly struggles to accommodate itself to the new reality.

Against this evolving backdrop, the world at large is learning to adapt to the growing presence of China and other emerging powers. China is also defining its role on the global stage and refining how it interacts with fellow nations.

Under these changing conditions, China is forging its own approach to international relations. In 2018, China continued to expand its diplomatic repertoire, leveraging traditional channels but also developing new mechanisms to promote mutual understanding.

Summit diplomacy

Summit diplomacy has been the pillar of China's international engagement in recent years. President Xi Jinping has been more active in global affairs than any previous Chinese leader, and this past year top-level summitry became more important than ever.

The key role of summit diplomacy was evident at the recent G20 Buenos Aires Summit. Along with exploring joint solutions to global challenges, the gathering presented an opportunity to keep the Sino-U.S. trade dispute from spiraling out of control. To the world's relief, Xi and U.S. President Donald Trump were able to reach a preliminary "ceasefire" agreement to start working on resolving differences over economic relations.

The author is president of the Center for China and Globalization

While still active in traditional forums like the G20, China has also led in the creation and strengthening of new platforms to promote free trade and international cooperation. In 2018, China hosted four such international events: the Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) Summit, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Summit and the China International Import Expo (CIIE).

At the Boao forum in April, Xi sent a clear signal: China will continue to open its economy and promote globalization. He pledged to expand market access and improve the business environment for foreign investors. Xi also pledged to promote import growth. In this way, the Chinese President offered firm support for globalization amid the protectionist wave that has swept the world.

This theme was reinforced at the inaugural CIIE in November. Much more than a trade fair, the CIIE served as a landmark in the evolution of China's development and its economic interaction with the rest of the world. As Xi said in his opening speech, over the next 15 years, China is set to import $30 trillion worth of goods and $10 trillion in services.

In June, the coastal city of Qingdao played host to the 2018 SCO Summit. Formed in 2001 with regional security objectives in mind, the agenda of the SCO has broadened to include other areas of cooperation, such as the economy and the environment. The summit was significant in that India and Pakistan attended as new full members. The eight member nations of the SCO now account for nearly half of the world's population and over a fifth of its global GDP.

The FOCAC Summit held in Beijing in September brought together leaders from China and African countries to explore new forms of collaboration. Xi announced $60 billion in financing for Africa in the form of government assistance and from financial institutions and businesses. The summit built on Xi's trip to Senegal, Rwanda, South Africa and Mauritius earlier in the year, the fourth African trip during his presidency.

These events reflect China's efforts to build platforms and engage with a broad range of partners around the world.

Sino-U.S. relations

China and the U.S. are the world's chief economic and political actors. In 2018, the twists and turns in their relation have formed the central storyline for the two nations themselves and for the world at large.

The meeting between the two Presidents following the G20 Summit averted further escalation of tariffs and brought both sides back to the negotiating table. But despite this reprieve, it is clear that a fundamental shift has occurred in the relationship. In Washington, a bipartisan view of China as an antagonist and as the biggest strategic competitor to the U.S. has taken hold. The U.S. approach of engagement in previous years is gradually giving way to a mindset of containment.

Despite frictions, the two countries still have enormous potential synergies to exploit through closer cooperation, particularly with respect to transnational challenges like climate change. China's participation in California's Global Climate Action Summit in September demonstrated that there are many channels open for the two to work together. Deepening cooperation at the local level may offer an effective way to do this.

Breakthroughs with neighbors

This past year saw a notable warming of ties between China and Japan, as the premiers of both countries made reciprocal visits. Premier Li Keqiang's visit to Japan in May was

XINHUA

The construction site of the China-Maldives Friendship Bridge, a project under the Belt and Road Initiative, on June 24, 2018

followed by Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's visit to Beijing in October, the first stand-alone journey to China by a Japanese leader in nearly seven years. During this visit, the premiers of Asia's two biggest economies reached a series of agreements to deepen economic and trade ties.

Sino-Indian relations also underwent improvement following a period of heightened tensions in 2017 caused by border friction. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited China in April, holding talks with Xi to build mutual trust and deepen cooperation. China and India, the world's most populous nations, share strong cultural ties and have economies that complement each other. Both countries see it as in their interest to get relations back on track.

With China's support, there has also been progress on the Korean Peninsula in defusing the nuclear weapons threat. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea held breakthrough summits with China, the U.S. and the Republic of Korea. These are initial but important steps toward reducing tension on the peninsula and opening up a path toward lasting peace in the region.

Belt and Road cooperation

In the five years since its launch, the Belt and Road Initiative, drawing on China's capital resources and infrastructure development capabilities, offers a new model of diplomacy, one of helping partner countries improve connectivity and paving the way toward growth and prosperity.

The initiative has been supported by a growing number of Chinese enterprises that are going global. In concert with this, China has used diplomacy to promote the initiative. More than 100 countries and regions, along with international organizations, have signed cooperation agreements with China, extending the initiative's scope from Eurasia to Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the South Pacific region.

Countries like Japan and the U.S. that previously had misgivings about the initiative are gradually warming to it. During Abe's visit to Beijing, China and Japan launched a mechanism to discuss economic cooperation projects in countries related to the initiative.

Protecting overseas interests

Driven by China's opening up and the Belt and Road Initiative, the number of Chinese citizens and companies overseas is growing. Along with this, China has been the country with the most outbound tourists in annual terms since 2013, according to the National Bureau of Statistics. The number of outbound tourists is expected to grow to 157 million in 2020, compared with 135 million in 2016. China's accumulated outbound direct investment (ODI) reached over $1.8 trillion at year-end 2017, moving up to second place in the world ranking.

These trends make protecting the interests of Chinese citizens working, traveling and studying overseas an increasingly important task for Chinese diplomatic and consular services. Potential risks facing citizens overseas are various and can include natural disasters and terrorist threats, both of which situations occurred this past year, requiring assistance from Chinese consular services.

Global governance reform

Multilateralism has come under increasing strain in recent years. There has been a rise in anti-globalization sentiment around the world, and some countries that helped build the international order are now undermining the very institutions that support it.

In part, current global governance problems are a result of multilateral institutions failing to reform and adapt to new circumstances. In response to this, China—while continuing to support existing mechanisms for international cooperation—has stepped forward to promote reform of the global governance system according to concepts of fairness and justice.

It is not only official agencies that are engaged in this task. A growing cast of social actors is also contributing ideas and impetus to reform global governance. This includes non-governmental think tanks that can help generate and disseminate ideas at home and abroad.

Through the ages, many have seen relations between players on the stage of world history as inevitably antagonistic, driven by fear and self-interest. Proponents of this view often see modern states as playing out predetermined roles, destined to clash as balances of power shift.

To formulate a new template for international relations, though, China has determined to craft its own role as the supporter of a more open, fairer world. It is likely that 2019 will bring more twists and turns in world affairs. However, it is to be hoped that the coming year will also provide chances to build relationships, work together, and script a shared future for humanity. ■

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TELEVISION

The rise of anticapitalist comedy

By Judy Berman

Mo (Cheadle, center) trades power moves with the creepy twin Lehman Brothers (Marino)

SHOWTIME'S *BLACK MONDAY* opens with a panorama of Wall Street on Oct. 19, 1987—the date of the catastrophic stock-market crash that gives the show its name. A white-haired businessman crumples on a curb, sobbing. Two giddy punks spray-paint YUPPIES LOST on a pillar above his head. And a chauffeur clambers out of a Lamborghini limo the color of fresh blood just in time to watch a jumper in an expensive-looking suit slam through the car's roof.

The apparent suicide remains unidentified as the show, which premieres on Jan. 20, jumps back a year to provide a day-by-day account of the events leading up to a crash whose cause real-world economists have never conclusively identified. In its studious avoidance of glamorous antiheroes like *Wall Street*'s Bud Fox and Gordon Gekko, *Black Monday* makes the realm of high finance look pretty pathetic. Investment-banker characters that might have been aspirational figures for baby boomers in the prosperous '80s mostly come off as petty jerks or immature nerds. From a distance of three decades, their superior smirks foreshadow not just the dotcom and subprime crises that hit the subsequent two generations, but also the rise of a certain smug billionaire President.

'No matter what the job, there's like seven people in the world who are making all the money.'

JAKE WEISMAN, in Uproxx

The show is just the latest in a wave of diverse capitalist satire sweeping film (see: *Sorry to Bother You, The Big Short*) and television created by—and intended for an audience of—Gen X-ers and millennials. There are brutal and unflattering portraits of the superrich like HBO's *Succession* and Showtime's *Billions*. Comedy Central's *Corporate* eviscerates white collar office culture and the megacorps that promote it, while NBC's *Superstore* goes for gentler laughs at the expense of big-box chains. AMC's absurdist worker-alienation allegory *Lodge 49* is as subtle as TV creator Sam Esmail's plausible economic dystopias, *Mr. Robot* and *Homecoming,* are striking.

Conceived by *Happy Endings* creator David Caspe and Jordan Cahan, with a pilot directed by executive producers Seth Rogen and Evan Goldberg, *Black Monday* views *Wall Street*'s folly from the perspective of upstart firm Jammer Group. Its flamboyant principal happens to be the Lamborghini's owner, Maurice "Mo" Monroe (Don Cheadle, also an executive producer), a cocaine enthusiast who lives like a pop star and prides himself on his street smarts. The Bud to his Gordon arrives in the form of Blair Pfaff (Andrew Rannells), a callow Wharton grad whose killer algorithm has big firms fighting over him—until a dust-up with Mo renders Blair unemployable by anyone but Jammer. (An episode where Mo is shadowed by a Hollywood type researching an "untitled Oliver Stone Wall Street project" suggests both that the parallel is intentional and that Stone's rise-and-fall narrative may get a *Working Girl* twist.)

Jammer's employees are outsiders in their WASPy field for reasons of race, gender, religion or (deeply closeted) sexual orientation. That doesn't prevent them from being crude, malicious products of their Wall Street environment, the type of guys who boast about having sex with prostitutes in the office. Even the only adult in the room, Mo's deeply undervalued deputy and ex-girlfriend Dawn Darcy (Regina Hall, whose characteristically warm performance gives viewers an unexpected hero), has to indulge their sophomoric antics to survive.

What makes Jammer tolerable is the threat it poses to an industry Caspe and Cahan portray as being numb to human suffering, where bratty blue bloods like the hilarious twin "Lehman Brothers" (both played by comedy treasure Ken Marino) hold all the power. Watching *Black Monday,* it's hard to resist fantasizing about a financial system less beholden to such buffoonery and greed.

SIMILAR PERSONALITY TRAITS predominate in one of last year's most unfairly overlooked comedy debuts, *Corporate,* which recently began its second season. Matt Ingebretson and Jake Weisman, who co-created the show

BLACK MONDAY: SHOWTIME (2); HALL: GETTY IMAGES

with Funny or Die alum Pat Bishop, star as perpetual "junior executives in training" at multinational monolith Hampton DeVille. (Think Berkshire Hathaway meets Halliburton, with the brand ubiquity of Amazon.) Along with their human resources buddy Grace (the wonderful Aparna Nancherla), the office mates strive to avoid humiliation in their competitive, bureaucratic workplace.

Corporate isn't an updated version of *The Office,* however; it's a full-on satire of contemporary global capitalism. That broad purview allows for wilder, more elastic storytelling than that of *Black Monday.* Hampton DeVille is the kind of company that will create a 9/11 memorial holiday just to sell product. New episodes that match Season 1's gonzo greatness chronicle the executive team's efforts to invent a lucrative addiction (makeup for men) and introduce a cowgirl billionaire (Kyra Sedgwick in the guest appearance of a lifetime) who's equal parts Ted Turner, Dolly Parton and Annie Oakley. Pessimistic takes on technology, media, identity politics, the environment and the quest for personal fulfillment are baked into each of these profit-driven nightmares.

This sitcom's themes might bear the closest resemblance to *Enlightened,* a brilliant-but-canceled HBO dramedy that cast co-creator Laura Dern as a corporate executive whose nervous breakdown puts her on the fast track to becoming a whistle-blower. *Corporate* even owes a substantial debt to anticapitalist pranksters like the Yes Men and the anticonsumerist magazine *Adbusters,* which helped ignite Occupy Wall Street—a movement that, not coincidentally, made young adults and the pop culture that caters to them more receptive to leftist ideology.

Yet *Corporate* avoids sanctimony thanks, in part, to its frequent reminders that outspoken radicals can be hypocrites. It's a prudent hedge, especially considering that the show airs on a network owned by multinational conglomerate Viacom (which, like Showtime's parent CBS, is itself a subsidiary of National Amusements). TV's critiques of capitalism may not be ideal for fomenting a revolution, but they certainly give viewers something subversive to think about during commercial breaks. ◻

QUICK TALK

Regina Hall

The actor, 48, recently won Best Actress at the New York Film Critics Circle Awards for her role in the indie comedy Support the Girls, *becoming the first black woman ever to win. In the movie, she plays the manager of a Hooters-like restaurant in which she tries to protect her employees from customers' casual sexism. In the new 1980s-set Showtime drama* Black Monday, *Hall battles sexism in a very different kind of workplace. As Dawn, she's the lone woman at a Wall Street trading firm in the lead-up to the massive stock market crash of Oct. 19, 1987.*

What are the challenges for Dawn, the only woman in her workplace? I think the challenge is to be heard and to be respected, to be treated equally and paid equally for the work that she's done. Obviously Mo [her boss, played by Don Cheadle] is aware of her gifts. But to be aware is one thing. To be demonstrative of your awareness in terms of how you pay someone and how you value them is another.

The writers could have made her a mother figure in the office but clearly chose not to. That was one of the things I loved. She wasn't going to be the one woman like, "Come on, guys, settle down." You sense that she's the smartest, but she doesn't want to be the Debbie Downer. She has to toe the line of being one of the guys so they don't dismiss her as a sourpuss but still be respected as a woman.

In *Support the Girls,* your character works in an all-female environment, but she deals with sexism from her boss and the customers. Absolutely. In both circumstances, these women have to choose their battles. They can't take every comment as offensive, but they have to stand up for themselves when a line is crossed. I think Dawn is very smart about it because she is aware of all the comments, like "Get me coffee," and then, "I want cream in my coffee," and the sexual innuendo. But she knows how to play their game. She can go toe to toe.

There's a moment in the show in which a screenwriter steals aspects of Dawn's life to put into the movie *Working Girl,* essentially whitewashing her story. As you said, Wall Street is mostly white and male, but not exclusively. It feels like this show is trying to correct the record. This show is about the world of outsiders. You have black characters, an Arab character and a gay character. They're all working at this one firm trying to prove what they can do. There's really only one guy who is a traditional Wall Street guy—a white man from Wharton with connections. The writers take those references that we all know and flip them on their heads. That's what makes this world so interesting. —ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

Glass (Jackson) is confronted by one of Kevin's (McAvoy) 24 personalities

MOVIES

Shyamalan's *Glass* is half empty

By Stephanie Zacharek

THE FILMS OF M. NIGHT SHYAMALAN, with their shouty surprise endings—HE'S DEAD! IT'S A WILDLIFE PRESERVE! and my personal favorite, JUST THROW WATER ON THEM!—bring great pleasure to some and intense, groan-stifling agony to others. But even those in the first camp might have to work hard to love *Glass,* Shyamalan's dopey dual sequel to the 2000 supernatural thriller *Unbreakable* and the 2016 multiple-personality hootenanny *Split.*

Glass takes place 19 years after *Unbreakable,* though it's almost as if Shyamalan himself has been in the deep freeze just about that long, shaking himself awake just in time to slap together a convoluted plot. Bruce Willis returns as the superpower-enhanced vigilante crime fighter David Dunn, whom we first met in *Unbreakable,* now white-haired but still donning his magic rain poncho to find and dispatch baddies. Early in *Glass,* David captures Kevin Wendell Crumb (James McAvoy), the loopy shape shifter from *Split.* But despite his heroism, David is viewed as a threat himself. And so the two are tossed into an institution for the criminally insane, the same one where David's old pal Mister Glass (Samuel L. Jackson), the brittle-boned comic-book expert who turned out to be a supervillain, has languished for nearly two decades. Psychologist Ellie Staple (Sarah Paulson) strides around the hospital in watercolor-hued cashmere outfits, fixing all three specimens in her classy, inscrutable gaze. What's she up to? That's for M. Night to know and you to find out.

Shyamalan's deep thoughts this time around are supposedly a continuation of those he posited in *Unbreakable:* that comic books are mankind's way of passing deep historical truths down through the ages. But the mythology he tries to build in *Glass* is rushed and sloppy; the surprise twist at the end is really just more of a damp wrinkle. Shyamalan believes so strongly in the dramatic impact of this trilogy that he almost makes you believe in it too—that's his secret superpower. But the illusion is fragile. You don't need a sixth sense to know you're in for a letdown. The five you've got should be plenty. ◻

DOCUMENTARY

FYRE and fury

Live music is a risky business, but 2017's Fyre Festival was a fiasco even by that standard. Conceived by entrepreneur Billy McFarland and rapper Ja Rule, it was hyped—in a promo video starring scantily clad models—as a luxury retreat in the Bahamas. In reality, the event was a farce: lodgings turned out to be disaster-relief tents, and instead of the promised gourmet fare, attendees received a sad cheese sandwich; its photo went viral.

Director Chris Smith's astounding, often hilarious documentary *FYRE,* in theaters and on Netflix Jan. 18, recounts how the festival went up in a blaze of hubris. A sweaty huckster desperate to live the bro fantasy he's selling, McFarland—now incarcerated for wire fraud—makes a great villain. But there's something depressing about him too. As he dupes more and more professionals into helping him defraud cool-hunting millennials, *FYRE* becomes an indictment of a festival industry in which images of naked women gyrating against Instagrammable sunsets are presumed to be a better investment than good music. *—Judy Berman*

The infamous cheese sandwich that went viral

GLASS: UNIVERSAL; FYRE: NETFLIX

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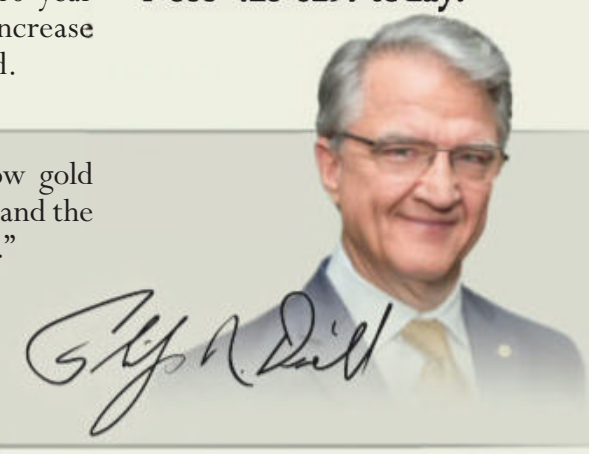

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CLARA MOKRI FOR TIME

NUTRITION

The rise of healthier proteins

By Jamie Ducharme

AMERICANS ARE OBSESSED WITH PROTEIN. IT'S TOUTED AS the cornerstone of any healthy diet, since it helps people feel full and builds muscle. But most Americans eat too much protein every day, according to federal estimates—and they're going especially overboard with animal proteins, namely red meat.

It's becoming clear how big a problem excessive red-meat consumption can be for health. Research has found associations between diets heavy in red and processed meats and many chronic diseases, including Type 2 diabetes, heart disease and cancer. Red meat comes with high amounts of saturated fat, and processed forms, like bacon and sausage, often contain chemicals that have been linked to cancer. But protein found in plants is linked to the opposite: lower rates of many of the same diseases and longer lives, thanks to the fiber, healthy fats and micronutrients that come with it.

Swapping beef for protein-rich plants like beans, peas and nuts has big benefits not just for people's health but also for the health of the planet, according to a report published in January by the World Economic Forum (WEF). If people all over the planet made one change—switching from beef to other sources of protein—global greenhouse-gas emissions would fall by 25% and diet-related deaths would drop by 5% in wealthy countries, the report estimates. Red-meat production is hard on the environment because raising cattle requires large plots of land and emits lots of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere.

BIG DAYS ARE RIPE WITH POTENTIAL

BIG FOOD FOR BIG DAYS

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The news gets better if people are willing to expand their protein palate. In another report, published Jan. 16 in the *Lancet*, 37 experts from 16 countries devised a diet they agreed was ideal for people and the planet. According to the group, Americans—who eat more than six times the recommended amount of red meat—should aim for little or none of it and instead get most of their protein from plant sources.

"We're on a lose-lose path at the moment: we're destroying human health, and we're destroying the environment at the same time," says Dr. Walter Willett, one of the authors of the *Lancet* paper and a professor of epidemiology and nutrition at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. "There is a win-win path, by shifting to more plant-based protein sources and producing them in an environmentally sustainable way."

These health and planetary benefits are making plant-based proteins a valuable area for innovation. In 2018, a third of U.S. consumers said they planned to buy more plant-based products in the next year, according to data from the independent market-research firm Mintel. Companies are now racing to create or improve alternative proteins—some familiar, others funky. Each of them is healthier than traditionally raised beef and better for the environment, according to the latest reports.

25%

The percentage by which global greenhouse-gas emissions would drop if everyone gave up beef

CULTURED MEAT

Startups are experimenting with using animal cells in a lab to grow food products that are genetically identical to poultry, pork, beef and fish. Cultured meat is only slightly healthier than the traditional kind—it has a better fatty-acid profile—but it is more sustainable, since cultured meat reduces the environmental and ethical problems associated with conventional farming, according to the WEF.

Cultured meat isn't yet approved by the Food and Drug Administration, but companies are ready. In December, Just Inc., a San Francisco–based company

CLARA MOKRI FOR TIME

famous for making vegan "eggs" from mung beans, partnered with a Japanese farm to produce cultured Wagyu beef. "[Cultured meat] can be a sustainable protein for the world to consume," says founder Josh Tetrick.

ALGAE

Spirulina, or blue-green algae, has been a staple of juice bars and health-food stores for years. But most people still don't think of the aquatic organisms as food. They may in the future: spirulina has a similar nutritional profile to eggs, according to the *Lancet* paper. Though it's high in salt, spirulina powder can be mixed into smoothies, wraps, energy bars and desserts. Algae produces few greenhouse gases and could "reduce deforestation due to soy and other feed production" if consumed instead of red meat, the WEF report says.

INSECTS

Bugs are technically meat. But raising insects for food is far more sustainable than traditional livestock because they emit less greenhouse gas, mature and reproduce quickly, and require much less land and water, according to a 2017 paper published in the journal *Global Food Security*. Of the alternative proteins included in the WEF report, only wheat and nuts produce less carbon dioxide—the dominant greenhouse gas—than insects. Food-grade, high-protein insects, like crickets and grasshoppers, are already widely available as "flour" (they're pulverized into a powder) and as ingredients in energy bars and chocolates.

BEANS

Switching to beans means big gains for health, since they're rich in fiber, iron, potassium and amino acids, as well as protein. They're great for the planet too: a 2017 paper published in the journal *Climactic Change* predicted that the U.S. could achieve up to 74% of its greenhouse-gas-reduction goals by 2020 if Americans would just start eating beans instead of beef. "Beans really fit that profile of being the best available replacement for beef, at least in terms of minimum environmental impact and maximum health impact," says Helen Harwatt, an environmental social scientist at Harvard and co-author of the paper. Livestock farming accounts for about 15% of all greenhouse-gas emissions, but beans take far less energy to produce and harvest—and they're much less expensive than meat and most meat substitutes.

1/3

The proportion of U.S. consumers who plan to buy more plant-based products in the next year

MEAT MIMICS

People who want plants to taste and feel like meat have more options than ever. Soy-based tofu, the most ubiquitous meat alternative, has almost 10 g of protein per 3-oz. serving, along with fiber and healthy fats. It's also lighter on greenhouse-gas emissions than meat. And pea protein is now popping up in all kinds of products, like Beyond Meat's buzzy veggie burger, which looks, tastes and cooks like beef. Switching beef for pea protein has a bigger impact on improving health than any other alternative protein, the WEF says, and it's one of the most sustainable swaps.

NUTS

Making nuts a main protein source is a "double whammy" for health, Willett says, since nuts reduce risks for the diseases linked to red meat while offering important nutrients. Benefits vary by nut, but just about every type has protein, healthy fats, vitamins and minerals. The WEF also crowned nuts the best protein alternative to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide since they release virtually none during production. ◻

9 Questions

Robert J. Brown The civil rights power broker, 83, on his new memoir and being an ally to both Martin Luther King Jr. and Richard Nixon

In your new book, *You Can't Go Wrong Doing Right*, you describe being a liaison between business and the civil rights movement in the '60s. How did you persuade executives to come to the table? No businesses can be successful in the kind of environment where people are burning down places. Everybody is a potential customer, and it's all about the money.

You then went to work in the Nixon White House. What do people get wrong about him? All they have to do is look at Nixon's record in terms of civil rights. When we took over the White House, there were two black [generals or admirals]. We changed that. I would review the Pentagon's list of people nominated to be promoted to generals. If I didn't see black people, I'd send it back.

Did Watergate change your feelings on Nixon? You were accused of being a key figure in drafting an "enemies list" of his foes. It didn't change too much. He made some mistakes and errors, and I know he paid for it.

You describe your work with his Office of Minority Business Enterprise as some of your proudest. How do you think that work has held up? It revolutionized how society thought about minority enterprise, but some people don't think that's important. Regional offices that we opened to make sure minorities and women got a chance to get government contracts were closed under President Obama.

How do you think American race relations changed in general during Obama's presidency? I thought he was a good President and a good, decent man, but I didn't see any great movement under him. I don't think race relations got any worse. It's getting worse now. Some race-relations problems are more severe than they were 40 or 50 years ago.

'SOME RACE-RELATIONS PROBLEMS ARE MORE SEVERE THAN THEY WERE 40 OR 50 YEARS AGO'

The police are so often at the center of those conflicts. How do feel about that, given that your first job was as a cop? I'm very disturbed, and somewhat surprised but not totally. I was a cop in the '50s. Those were difficult days. It's getting more attention now—before, it was your word against the policeman's; now people show what really happens [by capturing it on] their phones.

As someone who brought a PR perspective to civil rights, what do you think of protests against police brutality like those led by Colin Kaepernick? He has a right to do that peacefully. This is America. I would've sought another way to do that, maybe to organize a series of meetings. I don't want to be protesting against my country.

Do you think it's easier or harder to start a movement now than it was in the '60s? Nobody is stepping up to the plate. I haven't seen the churches organize a race-relations conference. Online is ridiculous. How're you going to get people emotionally involved online? It ain't going to happen. People need to meet people in the flesh and blood.

As Martin Luther King Day comes around, are there any memories of him that you return to? He was one of my closest friends. During some meeting with the Rev. King and Ralph Abernathy, I looked down at their socks. One of Martin's socks had a hole in it. I said, "Ralph, look at Martin's foot down there, he's got a hole in his socks." Ralph lifted up his leg; he had a hole in his. We got the biggest laugh. A couple weeks later, I went back with dozens of black and dark blue socks and gave a pair to each one of them, and then they started giving away the socks to Andrew Young and [now Congressman] John Lewis. Now whenever I see him he pulls up his pant leg and shows me he's got socks. —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN

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